

A CRITICAL SURVEY  
OF STUDIES ON  
DUTCH COLONIAL HISTORY

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

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OF STUDIES ON  
DUTCH COLONIAL HISTORY

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## FOREWORD

This volume of the Bibliographical Series is a thoroughly revised English edition, with many additions, of the author's 'Chronique de l'histoire coloniale. Outre-mer néerlandais' published in May 1958 in the French periodical 'Revue d'histoire des colonies' (Tome XLIV, 1957, pp. 311—448). A stricter observance of bibliographical detail has been aimed at, mainly through the efforts of the editorial staff of the Institute. In some instances, however, the form of a continuous narrative, chosen for this bibliography, made it impossible to give full titles.

*The spelling of geographical names and names of languages  
is according to the English romanization of Malay.*

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## INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Netherlands, trade, shipping, colonisation and contact with the world beyond the seas have been factors of extreme importance, especially since the sixteenth century. These factors have always been subjects of special interest to Dutch historians, with the result that the number of books on these subjects is large and the number of articles enormous. However, the vast majority of these studies have been written in Dutch, a language which is not understood, even in the world of scholarship, outside the area of its native speakers (the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe, America and Australia with 11 million souls, Belgium with 5 million inhabitants who speak Dutch, and the Union of South Africa, where more than 1,6 million speak Afrikaans, a closely related language). The number of studies on the subject in French is extremely small, in German very small and in English small. As a result, the importance of Dutch colonial history has never become sufficiently clear to the outside world and it is symptomatic that even detailed histories of the world only devote a few pages to the most important period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The editors of the *Historia Mundi* enabled the author of these lines to devote a whole chapter in vol. VIII to the period 1596—1795. Of course, the colonial history is also treated in general works on Netherlands' history; in the newest, 12-volume *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (General History of the Netherlands) 1949—1958, we find in vol. V T. S. Jansma writing on the ocean-going trade up to 1602 (pp. 235—241), in vol. VI W. Ph. Coolhaas on the Dutch East Indies Company up to 1648 (pp. 147—182) and W. R. Menkman on America and Africa up to 1648 (pp. 183—209), in vol. VIII W. Ph. Coolhaas on the history of the overseas territories 1648—1795 (pp. 352—390), in vol. IX J. J. Westendorp Boerma on the East Indies 1795—1830 (pp. 161—181 and 247—254), in vol. X W. Ph. Coolhaas on the Netherlands East Indies 1830—1887 (pp. 238—252), in vol. XI A. Alberts and J. M. Pluvier on the East up to 1908 (pp. 317—332), and finally in vol. XII W. F. Wertheim on the Netherlands East Indies 1908—1945 (pp. 262—281) and J. Meyer, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles, 1795—1945 (pp. 282—290).



Whosoever wants to become thoroughly acquainted with this subject will have to learn Dutch; the following survey will show what he may expect to find.<sup>2</sup> It is not to be expected that many foreign historians will show any great interest in the subject because it is part of the history of the Netherlands, but rather because the 17th and 18th centuries (which period will receive special attention) constitute such an important section of the history of colonisation in general.

Moreover, the Netherlands archives contain highly valuable sources for the history of South and East Asia between about 1640 and 1740. For several decades this has been appreciated by Englishmen, Americans and Australians, and since the second world war, also Indians, Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Chinese and Japanese come to consult the Dutch archives.

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<sup>2</sup> For the convenience of the reader, all titles have been provided with an English translation; Eng., Fr., G. indicate that the work has been published in English, French or German.

## I. ARCHIVES

In the Netherlands, all sources which are of interest for colonial history up to 1800, i.e. both those which were acquired from the "Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie" (the United East Indies Company, hereafter abbreviated as V.O.C.) which possessed the monopoly for trade and shipping east of the Cape of Good Hope up to Magellan Straits, and those from the "Westindische Compagnie" (the West Indies Company, abbr. W.I.C.), the area of whose monopoly contained the eastern part of the Americas as well as West Africa, — all these sources have been deposited in the Colonial Section of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, the General National Archives (abbr. A.R.A.) in the Hague (address: Bleyenburg 7). As to the West Indies, the complete archives have been transferred from the overseas territories to the A.R.A. As regards the East Indies, the governors-general were instructed to submit extensive reports which were to be accompanied by the most important papers, either the originals or copies. The A.R.A. also possesses the archives of the governing bodies and ministries which took over the duties of the two Companies at the end of the 18th century, that is to say, in so far as these papers have already been transferred to the central archives service. The length of the shelves for the colonial archives up to 1816 is about 1.800 meters (1.200 m. for papers from the East Indies), the length of those for the period 1816—1850 about 450 m.; I am unable to estimate the papers for the later period, which have been stored separately in an auxiliary depot at Schaarsbergen in the province of Gelderland. Free access is granted to all papers up to 1850; as regards later papers there are certain stringent restrictions for those after 1900. All foreigners may be assured of the greatest possible cooperation by the personnel of the archives. A useful work of reference is *De Rijksarchieven in Nederland* (The National Archives in the Netherlands; 1953), where all sections are enumerated with an indication whether or not there are printed or manuscript catalogues. Those who cannot read Dutch will find it profitable to consult R.

*Fruin's* survey of the contents of the General National Archives: *The general state archives and their contents*, 1932, 80 pp. (Eng.). In the journal *De West-Indische Gids*, vol. 35 (1955), pp. 1—38, Mrs. *M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs* published *A survey of Archives in the Netherlands pertaining to the History of the Netherlands Antilles* (Eng.); for papers from the Netherlands Indies during the period 1813—1875, Appendix A to *G. Irwin's Nineteenth-Century Borneo* (Eng. in V.K.I., Proceedings, vol. XV, 1955, pp. 218—220) may be consulted with profit. *R. Bijlsma, De archieven van de Compagnieën op Oost-Indië 1594—1603* (The Archives of the Companies trading on the East Indies 1594—1603, 1927) is important.

The counterpart to the A.R.A. for the sources of the V.O.C., i.e. both the archives of the governors-general and their council, the “Raad van Indië”, and those of all subordinate government organs, notaries-public, etc. in the Netherlands East Indies, are stored in a beautiful 18th-century country-house, the former Landsarchief (State Archives) at Batavia, at present the Arsip Negara at Djakarta (address: Djalan Gadjah Mada 111). Owing to the climate, most of the papers dating from before 1650 have been lost, but from that year onwards the archives grow in importance. For many questions documents will be found here which supplement those at the Hague. The Arsip Negara moreover contains the papers of the administration of the Netherlands Government after 1816, that is in as far as these have been transferred to the Service of the Archives, but the local authorities were not very strict in following the regulations concerned, and during the second world war and the following turbulent times many of the documents that had not been transferred were lost. A branch office at Bogor (formerly Buitenzorg), the residence of the governor-general after the 18th century, contains the archives of the central administration for the last years up to 1942, when the Netherlands East Indies fell into the hands of the Japanese. The total shelf-length will not be much less than twelve kilometers. The very able Keeper of the Records *J. A. van der Chijs* compiled a *Inventaris van 's Lands Archief te Batavia 1602—1816* (Inventory of the State Archives at Batavia 1602—1816, pp. 477), published as early as 1882. A later Keeper, *E. C. Godée Molsbergen* wrote the *Geschiedenis van het Landsarchief tot 1816* (His-

tory of the State Archives until 1816) in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Journal of Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, published by the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, abbr. *T.B.G.*; vol. LXXVI, 1936, pp. 5—80); his successor, *F. R. J. Verhoeven* described the period 1816—1854 in the same journal (vol. LXXX, 1940, pp. 461—529). The author of these lines who was the last Keeper of Netherlands nationality, gave a survey of the building and the collections in *Historia* (vol. 14, 1949, pp. 12—23), a periodical destined for the general public.

The documents of the Dutch authorities on Ceylon are to be found in the Ceylon archives at Nuwara Elya; in 1943 Miss *M. W. Jurriaanse* compiled a *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640—1796* (Colombo, 1943, 354 pp., Eng.). In India the papers in the Madras Records Office are of importance, especially for the history of the Dutch on the Malabar coast and partly also for the Coromandel coast; the archives at Calcutta, Bombay and several places of secondary importance are not so rich. An inventory is to be found in *J. van Kan, Compagniesbescheiden en aanverwante archivalia in Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon* (Company documents and similar papers in British India and on Ceylon; 1931, 251 pp.). The holdings of the Records Office at Cape Town are not so extensive; for this collection see *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. VIII, *South Africa*, 1936, "Bibliography", esp. pp. 910, 915—916, 931—932.

## II. JOURNALS, INSTITUTES, UNIVERSITY CHAIRS

No journal is exclusively devoted to colonial history; articles on this subject are to be found especially in general historical periodicals or in journals dealing with colonial problems. As regards the first category, the *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* (Historical Review, abbr. T.v.G.; 72 volumes) contains extensive critical reviews of nearly all new publications and an occasional article on colonial history; similar articles are to be found in the *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Contributions to the History of the Netherlands, abbr. B.G.N.; 88 vols.; before 1946 the title of this review was *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, Contributions to National History and Archeology, abbr. B.V.G.), but reviews were only given of the most important books. However, since 1946 all books and all articles are briefly mentioned in the section on the History of the Overseas Territories in the chronicle of the last-mentioned journal. Before the war, articles of a historical nature were to be found regularly in *De Indische Gids* (The Indies Guide, abbr. I.G., 62 vols.), *Koloniale Studiën* (Colonial Studies, published at Batavia, abbr. K.S. 25 vols.), and the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Review, the periodical of the Civil Service, abbr. K.T., 30 vols.). However, these three papers all suspended publication in 1940 and 1942 respectively. In their place only one new periodical has appeared, viz. *Indonesië* (abbr. Ind., 10 vols.) in which, contrary to the idea suggested by its title, general colonial and tropical problems are also discussed. It often contains historical articles and in order to reach a wider public these are quite often published in English. In view of the difficulties with the Indonesian Republic, publication was suspended on 1 January 1958. *De West-Indische Gids* (The West Indies Guide, abbr. W.I.G., 39 vols.)

passed safely through the war, but at present it contains fewer historical articles than formerly.

Among the scholarly institutions which are of importance for our present purpose, the most important is the "Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde" (Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology), an appellation which needs two amplifications, viz. "and History" on the one hand, and "of the tropical areas with which the Netherlands had or have relations" on the other. The Institute, at present (1959) 108 years old, possesses a splendid library (address: 14 van Galenstraat, the Hague) which in its special field is second to none of the largest libraries in Holland, such as the Royal Library (likewise in the Hague) or the university libraries; in fact it may even surpass them.<sup>3</sup> It also possesses manuscripts and a large collection of drawings and photographs. Scholars from abroad whose work lies in the field of colonial history will be very welcome there, especially if they announce their arrival beforehand.

The Royal Institute publishes one of the most important periodicals for our subject, the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, abbr. B.K.I., 115 vols.), whilst every year it publishes several volumes of *Verhandelingen* (Proceedings; 27 vols.), in which since the war extensive studies have appeared which for reasons of space could not be placed in the B.K.I. Moreover it publishes some very important works outside the regular series, in this case also to the benefit of historical studies.

The Royal Institute has an elder sister, with which it was closely connected; this is the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, founded in 1778 and bearing the predicate Royal since 1928. It is the oldest scholarly institution of western origin in Asia. The Society possesses a beautiful museum, partly historical (Merdeka Barat 12, Djakarta), collections of manuscripts and the most extensive library in the field of the cultural sciences in Indonesia. Like the Royal Institute, it publishes a periodical, the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* now *Madjalah untuk ilmu bahasa, ilmu bumi dan kebu-*

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<sup>3</sup> The former Ministry of Overseas Territories at the Hague also possessed an extensive library in the field of colonial affairs and colonial history. This library is now in the Home Office.

*dajaan Indonesia* (Journal of Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, 85 vols., abbr. T.B.G.) and *Verhandelingen* (Proceedings, 79 vols.), as well as works outside the regular series. Although the Society still exists under the name "Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia", its state since 1950 has been far from flourishing, because only few Dutch scholars remained in Indonesia, and the number of Indonesians interested in this particular field of studies is small.

The Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (Royal Institute for the Tropics, before the war called Koloniaal Instituut) at Amsterdam, established in an enormous building at Mauritskade 63, likewise possesses a museum with i.a. some Company furniture, and a library. However, its main object is scholarly work for the benefit of trade and industry, and as such it is not of great importance to the historian. Its periodical *Mededelingen* (Communications) only rarely publishes historical studies.

For our purposes the Historisch Genootschap (Historical Society, established at Utrecht) is of greater importance, although it is not chiefly interested in overseas' history. Its main object lies in editing historical source material, the smaller ones being published in the annual *Bijdragen en Mededelingen* (Contributions and Communications, 73 vols., abbr. B.M.H.G.), the larger ones appearing as separate works; in both colonial history is well represented.

The Government possesses an institution whose work is closely related to the above, viz. the Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis (State Commission for National History, up to 1948 Commissie voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Commission for National Historical Publications). It sees to the publication of important sources for the history of the Netherlands, including colonial history, which are larger than those published by the Historical Society; at present these already number 135 volumes (abbr. R.G.P.).

The Vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief (Society "The Netherlands' Archives for Economic History") possesses both a rich library (Herengracht 218, Amsterdam) and an important depository of papers received from private firms (Laan Copes van Cattenburch 83, the Hague). Here, of course, due regard is shown to the economic history of the colonies, as is proved by the numerous

studies published in the Society's *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek* (Annual on Economic History, 27 vols., abbr. E.H.J.).

Finally, articles of interest to the colonial historian are often to be found in the *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Journal of the Royal Netherlands Geographic Society, 76 vols. in the 2nd series which started in 1880, abbr. T.A.G.).

The National University at Leiden has a chair for colonial and maritime history, the present occupant being T. H. Milo, a historian and a former officer in the Royal Netherlands Navy. At Utrecht National University the chair for the history of the relations between the Netherlands (and other European countries) and the world beyond the seas is occupied by the author of these lines who will always be pleased to be of service to his foreign colleagues (letters to be addressed to the Instituut voor Geschiedenis van de Rijksuniversiteit, Kromme Nieuwe Gracht 20, Utrecht).



### III. BOOKS OF TRAVEL

When shortly after 1585 the great voyages of the Dutch across the seas other than those around Europe had started, it soon became apparent that there was a great interest in the descriptions of these distant journeys. Books of travel were printed repeatedly, some of these, like the story of the unlucky journey of the East India master *Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe*, becoming highly popular among the general public, whilst others aimed at providing information for the scholar or the mariner. Occasionally such writings were combined with others so as to form a series; a well-known and excellent example of these is the *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoc-troyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Commencement and Progress of the United Netherlands' Patented East Indies Company), first published at Amsterdam in 1645. Similar publications by the *de Bry* brothers at Frankfort are slightly less accurate. A great number of these books of travel were translated into French, German and English.

In 1867 the excellent Librarian of Amsterdam University Library, *P. A. Tiele*, published in French a *Mémoire bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais* (Bibliographical survey on the Journals of Netherlands Navigators. A reprint will appear in 1960); although its arrangement is slightly forced because of its co-ordination with a similar *Mémoire*<sup>4</sup> published by *A. G. Camus* in 1802, it is still a model and it was used as the basis for the work done by the *Linschoten Vereeniging* (Linschoten Society), founded in 1908. Like its elder sister, the *Hakluyt Society*, the aim of this society is the publication of ancient books of travel unabridged and, as accurately as possible, provided with the original maps and plates and with the necessary scholarly annotation. However, unlike those of the *Hakluyt Society*, the activities of the *Linschoten Society* are restricted to the voyages of *Netherlanders*. Since its foundation, it has published sixty works (sometimes consisting of more than one volume), all in the same large octavo format, bound in dark-blue linen with gold lettering and a gold vignette. The society's secretariat

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoire sur la collection des grands et petits voyages et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisedech Thevenot*, Paris 1802.

is established at the Hague, Lange Voorhout 9 (annual subscription hfl. 20,—). A number of the most important volumes deserve special mention.

Just as the Hakluyt Society is named after *Richard Hakluyt*, one of the foremost personalities in the history of British voyages of discovery, the Linschoten Society was named after *Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, who occupies a similar place in the history of the Dutch voyages beyond the seas. Born at Haarlem, he went to Spain in 1579 at the age of sixteen and thence to Lisbon, which he left in 1583 to go to India in the service of the archbishop of Goa. Here he stayed until 1588, constantly engaged in "investigating the manners, being and shapes of the countries, peoples, fruit, goods and merchandise and other things". On his return to his native country he wrote his *Itinerario, Voyage ofte schipvaert... naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579—1592* (Itinerary, Voyage to the East or Portuguese Indies, 1579—1592). Although intended partly to be read for amusement, it was mainly an encyclopedia of interesting facts which Van Linschoten had collected in the Orient, and the Dutch Indiamen regularly took it with them on their voyages to the East for constant reference. Even for us it is still a source of fundamental importance. Jan Huygen continued his work with a description of the west coast of Africa and of America, extracted from Spanish and Portuguese data, and he concluded it with a *Reys-gheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyzers* (Description of the navigations of the Portuguese). This latter work was the first to be printed, in view of the first voyage of the Dutch to the Indies; it contains a description of the seas and coasts of importance to seamen. The Society re-issued the work in five volumes. Vol. 1 and 2 under the editorship of *H. Kern*, one of the greatest Dutch philologists (II<sup>5</sup>, 1910, 2 vols., 1 + 238 + 266 pp.; a second ed. appeared in 3 vols. as vol. LVII, LVIII and LX in 1955, '56, '57 resp., with a new introduction and notes by the historian *H. Terpstra*, xcvi + 163 + 183 + 190 pp.). Vol. 3 by *C. P. Burger* and *F. W. T. Hunger* (XXXIX, 1934, xxxiv + 337 pp.) and vol. 4 and 5 by *J. C. M. Warnsinck* (XLIII in 2 parts, 1939, lxxx + 446 pp.).

<sup>5</sup> In the following account, the capital Roman figures refer to the number of the volume in the series of the works published by the Linschoten Society.

In 1595 came the first voyage of the Dutch to the East, via the Cape of Good Hope, undertaken by four small ships, a venture started by a group of Amsterdam merchants. The chief personage on board was the chief merchant Cornelis de Houtman who was anything but a born leader. Although the voyage experienced great difficulties — more because of the continuous quarrels among merchants and crew than because of the opposition incurred from the Portuguese in the East — in the end Bantam, the large trading centre on the northwest coast of Java, was reached. The fleet sailed along the north coast of Java, stayed some time off Bali and finally three of the four ships regained Amsterdam. Numerous documents pertaining to this *Eerste Schipvaart* (First voyage), viz. *D'Eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewijcksz* (Journal kept by Willem Lodewijcksz.; VII, 1915, xxxiv + 248 pp.), the oldest *Journalen* (Ship's journals; XXV, 1925, lxxxviii + 426 pp.), and further *Bescheiden* (Documents; XXXII, 1929, lxxv + 439 pp.) were published by G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman, whilst J. C. Mollema compiled a description of the voyage based on these data (1935, 366 pp.).

Superior leadership, on the contrary, was displayed during the *Tweede Schipvaart* (Second voyage) under the single authority of the able and sympathetic admiral, Jacob van Neck. The eight ships all reached Bantam and four of these were able to return immediately, loaded with pepper, the remaining four, under the command of the vice-admiral Wybrant Warwijck, continuing the journey to Amboyna, the chief centre for the trade in cloves in the Spice Islands. Warwijck despatched his deputy, Jacob van Heemskerck, to the Banda Archipelago, the only place in the world in those days where nutmeg and its by-product mace were to be found. Five volumes (one in two parts) published by the Linschoten Society are concerned with this venture. Two of these volumes are accompanied by a separate folder with maps, the second folder with 83 maps providing a highly valuable survey of the cartography of Indonesia from the days of Ptolemy (A.D. 160) up to Van Neck, Warwijck and Van Heemskerck (XLII, 1938, cxiv + 183 pp.; XLIV, 1940, lxxxiv + 262 pp.; XLVI, 1942, xc + 216 pp.; XLVIII, 1944, 1 + 219 pp.; L, 1947, 235 pp. and 1949, 318 pp., all edited by J. Keuning; the *Register* — index volume — 1951, 70 pp., was compiled by Mrs. C. E. Warnsinck-Delprat).

When the First Voyage had proved that South-East Asia was accessible to the Dutch, several other combinations of merchants, also outside Amsterdam, were formed for further ventures. The documents concerning the *Oudste Reizen van de Zeeuwen naar Oost-Indië, 1598—1604* (Five voyages by partnerships of Zealand province), especially important because of the contact with Achin, a centre of pepper cultivation on the north coast of Sumatra, were edited by *W. S. Unger* (LI, 1948, liii + 253 pp.). Another Zealand venture was the voyage by *Joris van Spilbergen* (1601—1604), who likewise arrived in Achin, but who was moreover the first Dutchman to come to Ceylon, where he concluded a treaty with the local ruler (XXXVIII, 1933, lvii + 126 pp.).

The route to East Asia did not always lead via the Cape, two ventures from Rotterdam following the traces of Magelhaes. The first, under *Mahu* and *De Cordes* (1598—1600), miscarried, although some of the ships were able to pass through Magellan Straits, one even reaching Japan. The three volumes pertaining to this voyage have been edited by the internationally known cartographer *F. C. Wieder*; in the second volume he provides a history of the Straits, illustrated with numerous maps and “rutters”, the third volume describing the contact with Japan, partly based on the letters of *William Adams*, the English mate of the ship “*De Liefde*” (XXI, 1923, xv + 319 pp.; XXII, 1924, 119 pp.; XXIV, 1925, 231 pp.). For this voyage reference should also be made to vol. 8 of series I of the Hakluyt Society. Much more success was gained by the second venture under the gay commander *Olivier van Noort* (1598—1601), the first Dutchman to sail around the globe, after Del Cano (1519—1522), Drake (1577—1580), whom he had taken as his example, and Cavendish (1586—1588) (XXVII and XXVIII, 1926, viii + 265 and 300 pp., ed. *J. W. Ilzerman*).

Even after the establishment in 1602 of the United East Indies Company, which had obtained the monopoly for shipping and trade in the area mentioned on p. 3, the south-west route was still occasionally followed. It was in the Company's service that between 1614 and 1617 the above-mentioned *Joris van Spilbergen* in his turn made a *Voyage around the World* (XLVII, 1943, cxxxi + 192 pp., ed. *J. C. M. Warnsinck*); the second part of this publication consists of an album with twenty-nine very beautiful plates. The Hakluyt Society issued an

English translation of the story of this voyage (2nd series, vol. 18, 1906, lxi + 272 pp.). Of even greater importance was the venture organized by the great merchant Isaïc le Maire, a rigid individualist who opposed the V.O.C. and who hoped to be able to reach the still unknown Terra Australis via a route other than the Magellan Straits, indicated in the Company's charter as the limit of the area covered by its patent. This voyage of discovery, led by his son *Jacob le Maire* and by *Willem Schouten* proved the land south of the Straits, i.e. Tierra del Fuego, to be an island; they were the first to round the cape called Hoorn (Horn) after Schouten's birthplace. They saw a few of the islands in the Pacific Ocean; of especial interest was their stay on Boscawen, south of the Samoa Archipelago, which island they called Cocos Island, and on Futuna (the "Hoorn Islands"). They eventually reached the Malay Archipelago, but here their remaining ship was confiscated by the representatives of the V.O.C. The description of this voyage is contained in the first part of vol. XLIX (1945, xxiv + 19 + 229 pp., ed. *W. A. Engelbrecht* and *P. J. van Herwerden*); the second part contains the introduction (265 pp.) where the editors stress the great importance of this voyage for the exploration of the Pacific Ocean. More than a century later The West Indies Company enabled *Jacob Roggeveen* to make a similar voyage (1721—1722), the most important discovery being that of Easter Island; Roggeveen's ship was likewise confiscated at Batavia (IV, 1911, xxvii + 331 pp., ed. *F. E. baron Mulert*).

However, the East Indies Company also provided important contributions to the discovery of the world beyond the seas, the most significant Dutch contribution being the voyage undertaken during 1642 and 1643 at the command of governor-general Antonio van Diemen, who was greatly interested in this work. The leader of the expedition was *Abel Jansz. Tasman*, assisted by the able pilot *Franchoyz Jacobsz. Visscher*; they discovered Van Diemen's Land, called Tasmania <sup>6</sup> since 1855, New Zealand, the Tonga Archipelago and the

<sup>6</sup> This new name is due to the British who connected the word Diemen, originally the name of a village in Holland, with the word "demon", in view of the abolition of the convict system which had worked very badly there since their establishment on the island in 1828, they wished to relinquish this ominous name. However this may be, the honour of the discovery is much more due to Van Diemen and Visscher than to the rough sailor Tasman.

Fiji Islands. When in 1643 Tasman alone was despatched in order to investigate the possible existence of a channel between New Guinea and Australia, he missed Torres Straits, but he surveyed the north coast of Australia, at that time New Holland, a coast first seen by the Dutchman Willem Jansz. at the beginning of 1606, i.e. before Torres. Both voyages have been included in volume XVII (1919, xcvi + 300 pp., ed. *R. Posthumus Meyjes*).

Volume XIII (1917, lxvii + 463 pp., ed. *H. P. N. Muller*) contains a collection of documents, dating from 1636 to 1670, concerning the *Contacts between the V.O.C. and Camboja and Laos*. Equally curious is the *Story of the loss of the yacht "De Sperwer" off the Korean coast by Hendrik Hamel*, and of his enforced stay in this country, totally unknown in the West, between 1653 and 1666 (XVIII, 1920, liii + 165 pp., ed. *B. Hoetink*). A not very successful voyage of discovery was the expedition led by *Mathijs Quast* and *Tasman* in 1639; they were sent out to find some legendary gold islands situated north-east of Japan (LVI, 1954, lxx + 130 pp., ed. *J. Verseput*). Volume LIX contains the description of the five journeys undertaken by the future governor-general *Van Goens* to the ruler of Mataram, i.e. into the interior of Java (1956, 280 pp., ed. *H. J. de Graaf*). The series also contains the description of *Bontekoe's* unfortunate voyage, mentioned above as a popular book (LIV, 1952, 1 + 211 pp., ed. *G. J. Hoogewerff*). Both *David Pietersz. de Vries* (*Korte Historiae . . . van verscheyden Voyagiens, 1618—1644*, Brief survey of several voyages, 1618—1644; III, 1911, xlv + 302 pp., ed. *H. T. Colenbrander*) and *Nicolaus de Graaff* (*Reisen 1639—1687*, Travels 1639—1687; XXXIII, 1930, xli + 230 + 132 pp., ed. *J. C. M. Warnsinck*) visited not only the territories of the East Indies Company, but also those of the W.I.C.

Four publications are concerned with India. The first text lies somewhat outside the field covered by the Society, being *De Open-Deure tot het Verborgene Heydendom* (Open door to the mysteries of paganism) by the Reverend *Abraham Rogerius*, first published in 1651 and still one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the type of Hinduism prevalent in those days south of the Dekhan (X, 1915, xlv + 223 pp., ed. *W. Caland*). The other texts are *De Remonstrantie* (The Remonstrance) by *W. Geleynssen de Jongh*, a description dating

from approx. 1625 of the empire of the Grand Moghul by a servant of the Company (XXXI, 1929, xv + 127 pp., ed. *W. Caland*) and two beautifully illustrated accounts of journeys to the Moghul court by envoys of the Company, viz. by *Dircq van Adrichem* in 1662 (XLV, 1941, xx + 275 pp., ed. *A. J. Bernet Kempers*) and by *Joan Josua Ketelaar* in 1711—1713 (XLI, 1937, xxvii + 454 pp., ed. *J. Ph. Vogel*).

Before the route to the Indies via the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered, the Dutch also tried to reach these countries via the north-east, not so much because in this way they could elude their enemies, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, but because they relied on the rumour current since the days of Pliny, and believed that the east coast of Asia would be reached not far from the mouth of the river Ob, i.e. much farther to the west than is actually the case. They also cherished illusions about the absence of ice in these northerly waters. The search for this route was pursued with great obstinacy, and a number of the publications of the Linschoten Society is devoted to these undertakings, in the first place *Reizen van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naar het Noorden, 1594—1595* (the Voyage thither made by its patron Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, in 1594—1595, VIII, 1914, lxxxiv + 308 pp., ed. *S. P. l'Honoré Naber*). An exploit still known to every Dutchman is the voyage undertaken in 1596 and 1597 under the command of Heemskerck, already mentioned in connection with the second venture to the East Indies. The expedition was unable to pass beyond Nova Zembla, where it stayed through the winter before undertaking the journey home. The credit for having prevented the wintering from ending in disaster is mainly due to the capable and energetic chief-mate Willem Barents who died of privation on the return journey. The material remains of the winter camp were found again in the nineteenth century; they may be seen in the historical section of the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam. The description of this voyage and of two earlier ones in 1594 and 1595 by one of the participants, *Gerrit de Veer* (XIV and XV, 1917, xxvii and cxxvi + 341 pp., ed. *S. P. l'Honoré Naber*), has also been published twice by the Hakluyt Society (Series I, vols. 13 and 54). Even after 1596 the attempts to reach the East along this route were not given up, as is proved by *De Reis van* (Voyage of) *Jan Cornelisz. May* (1611—1612) who called i.a. at the East coast of America, at Nova Scotia and Cape

Cod (I, 1909, lvi + 226 pp., ed. *S. Muller*). In these waters he had been preceded by the Englishman *Henry Hudson*, who, sailing under the Dutch flag, in 1609 discovered the river called after him (XIX, 1921, lxxix + 137 pp., ed. *S. P. l'Honoré Naber*, with the text both in English and in Dutch; a wholly English edition constitutes vol. 27 of the 1st series of the Hakluyt Society). The *foundation in July 1625* at the mouth of the Hudson River *of the town of New Amsterdam*, called New York after its capture by the British in 1664, is treated in vol. XXVI (1925, 242 pp., ed. *F. C. Wieder*). It is little known that during the war the Dutch had to wage against England and France in 1672 they recaptured the town; volume XXX (1928, lxix + 237 pp., ed. *C. de Waard*) deals with *De Zeeuwsche expeditie naar de West onder Cornelis Evertsen den Jonge* (The expedition from Zeeland province by Cornelis Evertsen the Youngest, a member of a Zeeland family which produced many famous naval heroes, all called Jan or Cornelis) who achieved this successful coup, after first having reinforced the defences of Surinam. Returning to the North for a moment, we should, mention vol. XXIII (1924, lviii + 125 pp., ed. *S. P. l'Honoré Naber*) which contains two small works by the cartographer *Hessel Gerritsz.*, viz. his *Beschryvinghe van der Samoyeden landt* (Description of the country of the Samoyedes) of 1612, also called *Detectio Freti* or *Hudson Tract*, a highly interesting study, and the sole French text in the publication of the Linschoten Society, *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitsberghe*, of 1613. That Hessel Gerritsz. used the French language for his second work was because it was a pamphlet — likewise of great interest — directed against the British, for which he hoped to find French readers.

Returning now to the area covered by the patent of the West Indies Company, which also included New Amsterdam, we find only three publications concerning South America. These are the voyage by *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp* (surnamed "China" because he was the first Dutchman to reach this empire) to South America (IX, 1915, xxii + 195 pp. ed. *J. W. IJzerman*), the *Journael* of master *Hendrik Ottsen* concerning his voyage thither in the years 1598—1601, an event of third-rate importance but well described (XVI, 1918, cxlv + 253 pp., ed. *J. W. IJzerman*), and finally the extensive *Iaerlyck Verhael* (Annual report), in which one of the Governors of the West Indies Company, *Joannes de*



*Laet*, gives a detailed description of the period 1624—1636, when his Company showed the greatest activity; he describes i.a. the attacks on the Spanish silver convoys and the establishment of the Dutch settlements in Brazil and on Curaçao, the latter island still forming part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (XXXIV, 1931, xxix + 224 pp.; XXXV, 1932, xx + 215 pp.; XXXVII, 1934, xx + 234 pp., all edited by S. P. *l'Honoré Naber*; XL, 1937, lxxxvi + 330 pp., ed. S. P. *l'Honoré Naber* and J. C. M. *Warnsinck*).

As regards Africa, eight volumes may be mentioned; four of these concern *South Africa*, which belonged to the domain of the V.O.C. All these (XI, XII, XX and XXXVI, 1916, 1916, 1922, 1932, ed. E. C. *Godée Molsbergen*) contain descriptions of journeys by land and by sea starting from Capetown during the period 1652—1805. The other four volumes concern the Gulf of Guinea which belonged to the domain of the West Indies Company which bought slaves there. *Pieter de Marees' Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea* (Description and historical survey of the gold kingdom of Guinea) is an early (1602) description of the so-called Gold Coast (V, 1912, lxxvi + 316 pp., ed. S. P. *l'Honoré Naber*). Volume VI (1913, li + x + 206 pp., ed. S. P. *l'Honoré Naber*) provides a survey of the northern and western parts of Upper Guinea and the coasts of Lower Guinea by means of the *Toortse der Zee-vaert* (1623; Torch of Seamanship) by *Dierick Ruiters*, and, written in German, the *Schiff-farten* (Voyages) by *Samuel Brun* (1624). Volume LII (1950, cvi + 124 pp., ed. K. *Ratelband*) contains the *Reizen naar West-Afrika (1605—1614) van Pieter van den Broecke* (Voyages to West Africa), a man who later opened the office at Suratte in the service of the V.O.C. As in Dutch historical literature only scanty attention had been paid to the Gold Coast, volume LV was made to include *Vijf Dagregisters van het kasteel São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) aan de Goudkust* (Five Journals of the castle São Jorge da Mina on the Gold Coast) for the period 1645—1647 (1953, cx + 439 pp., ed. K. *Ratelband*).

That Holland was still able to take the initiative at sea during a period when energetic action seemed completely out of the question, is proved by the volumes concerning *De Eerste Nederlandsche Trans-atlantische Stoomvaart in 1827 van Zr. Ms. Stoompakket Curaçao*

(First Netherlands transatlantic voyage in 1827 by H. M. Steampacket "Curaçao" XXIX, 1927, xxvii + 186 pp., ed. *J. W. van Nouhuys*; LIII, 1951, xlv + 224 pp., ed. *J. W. van Nouhuys* and *C. Hokke*). Eight years before the first direct steamship connection between Liverpool and New York was considered, this voyage from the Netherlands to Surinam took place at the command of King William I, in order to establish a regular government steamer service across the Atlantic Ocean.

In order to make its works more readily accessible, the Board of Governors of the Linschoten Society arranged for the compilation of two volumes of a *Tresoor der Zee- en Landreizen* (Treasury of journeys by sea and by land), being a descriptive index to the first fifty volumes, which may likewise serve as a kind of encyclopedia for this field (vol. I—XXV, 1939, 544 pp., by *D. Sepp*; vol. XXVI—L, 1957, 829 pp., by *C. G. M. van Romburgh* and *Mrs. C. E. Warnsinck-Delprat*).

The publishing firm of Martinus Nijhoff at the Hague has issued in a nearly identical cover a number of works which did not quite fit into the scheme of the Linschoten Society; the most important of these will still be mentioned. The same firm likewise found the very capable former officer in the Royal Netherlands Navy *S. P. l'Honoré Naber* (whose name has been mentioned repeatedly in the foregoing pages) willing to edit thirteen volumes in German of *Reisebeschreibungen von deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederländischen West- und Ost-Indischen Kompagnien* (Journals of German functionaries and soldiers in the service of the V.O.C. and the W.I.C.). Although their importance is not so great as that of the works published by the Linschoten Society, it still seems desirable to mention the names of the authors with the main areas of their travels and the corresponding dates, also because their language makes them more easily accessible to the English reader. Johann Gregor Aldenburgk (I, 1930, 98 pp.; Brasil, 1623—1626), Johann von der Behr (IV, 1930, 155 pp.; Java, India, Persia, Ceylon, 1641—1650); Michael Hemmersam (I, 1930, 89 pp.; Guinea and Brasil, 1639—1645); Albrecht Herport (V, 1930, 179 pp.; Java, Formosa, India, Ceylon, 1659—1668); Elias Hesse (X, 1931, 195 pp.; gold-mines on Sumatra, 1680—1683); Johann Christian Hoffmann (VII, 1931, 104 pp.; Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Java,

1671—1676); Johann Jacob Merklein (III, 1930, 129 pp.; Java, India, Further India, China and Japan, 1644—1653); Ambrosius Richshoffer (I, 1930, 141 pp.; Brasil, 1629—1632); Johann Jacob Saar (VI, 1930, 195 pp.; Java, Banda, Ceylon, Persia, 1644—1660); Johann Schreyer (VII, 1931, 68 pp.; Cape of Good Hope, 1669—1677); Christoph Schweitzer (XI, 1931, 148 pp.; Java, Ceylon, 1675—1682); Johann Verken (II, 1930, 146 pp.; Moluccas, 1607—1612); Martin Wintergerst (XII and XIII, 1932, 142 and 152 pp.; Mediterranean, North Sea, Ceylon, Java, 1688—1710); Johann Sigmund Wurffbain (VIII and IX, 1931, 179 and 174 pp.; Moluccas and India, 1632—1646). An English translation of Von der Behr, Herport and Schweitzer has been edited with copious annotations by *R. Raven-Hart* in 1954.

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It is impossible to discuss the most important works on the colonial history of the Netherlands without making a geographical distinction between the activities of the Dutch in South and East Asia (including Australia and the Cape of Good Hope), i.e. the area covered by the charter of the V.O.C., and on the other hand in America and West Africa, the domain of the West Indies Company. In time, another demarcation is to be made around the year 1795, when changed conditions in the home country led to the disappearance of both companies. Of course, these divisions cannot be strictly maintained, as there are works which deal both with the East and the West Indies, and those which survey the history before and after 1795.

## IV. THE AREA COVERED BY THE CHARTER OF THE V.O.C.

### A. GENERAL WORKS

In the course of the years many works have appeared on the history of the "Netherlands East Indies", but no useful purpose is served in enumerating these to the foreign reader. The latter will either take a modern, concise handbook or the most detailed of these works, a work which is thorough enough to be relied on as far as the presentation of the facts is concerned and which also contains a reliable bibliography. This is the *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië* (History of the Netherlands East Indies, planned in six volumes), compiled under the editorship of *F. W. Stapel* (I, 1938, 380 pp.; II, 1938, 488 pp.; III, 1939, 535 pp.; IV, 1939, 406 pp.; V, 1940, 393 pp.), although it has been criticized very severely, especially for the lack of logic in its arrangement. Volumes I and II (up to p. 148) deal with the history of the Indonesians before the arrival of the Europeans; vol. II (pp. 151—272) discusses the voyages of the Portuguese, Spaniards, French and British. The remainder of vol. II, as well as vol. III and IV deal with the history of the V.O.C., not only in the region which was eventually to be called the Netherlands East Indies however, but in the whole of the area covered by the Company's charter, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. The contents of vol. V which starts with the year 1795 is of course restricted to the area which remained to the Netherlands in those days, viz. the Malay Archipelago. Although the lack of balance of this arrangement is already apparent, much worse is the almost complete disappearance of the Indonesians from the history of their own country after the arrival of the Europeans: they are hardly mentioned any more. Of course, there would have been no objection to conceiving the work as

a colonial history — and that is what vol. II, p. 151 to vol. V actually give — but in that case, what is the reader to do with vol. I and the beginning of vol. II which contain ancient purely Indonesian history? Another practical defect is the complete lack of indices. — When we consider the “colonial” parts which are our sole concern here, we find in vol. II, pp. 275—475, an exhaustive and detailed description of all voyages to southeast Asia up to the year 1602, when the V.O.C. was founded, written by the able pen of *H. Terpstra*. Vol. III, written by the editor *F. W. Stapel* personally, relates the establishment and the organisation of the V.O.C. (pp. 5—44), giving next an extensive survey of the Company’s activities up to approx. 1700 (pp. 45—471), and concluding with general reviews concerning Science and Art (pp. 473—507) and the relations between the Company and the Natives (pp. 509—522). Everything has been very carefully worked out, but the reader misses a synthesis as well as an explanation concerning the importance of the Company in regard to the Netherlands. Vol. IV, the eighteenth century, is a complete failure. Its author, *E. C. Godée Molsbergen*, had formerly produced some very good work, but he wrote this book shortly before his death when he was evidently unable to cope with his difficult assignment, particularly as there exist but few preliminary studies on this period. The impression prevails that the author extensively discusses those details with which he happened to be familiar; in this way no less than twenty pages are devoted to a description of the burial of the not very important governor-general Abraham van Riebeeck, another twelve pages to a voyage from Batavia to Manilla, 42 to the Cape Colony and 34 to the care of the sick. However, other often much more important subjects are dealt with in a few sentences, if they are not wholly omitted, and general surveys are not to be found at all. Vol. V, again by *Stapel*, possesses the same qualities as vol. III: thoroughness and attention to detail, with again the same shortcoming: a lack of synthesis; occasionally the author may irritate the non-Dutch reader because of his tendency to overstress the good qualities of his fellow-countrymen.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The appearance of vol. VI, which was to deal with the history of the period 1880—1940, was retarded by the outbreak of the second world war; it is hardly to be expected that it will still be published.

During the last twenty years there have appeared three works on the Dutch in the East which are most easily accessible to the English reader because they are written in English. In 1938 *E. S. de Klerck*, a former officer in the Netherlands East Indies' Army whose chief interest was military history, published lecture-notes compiled twenty years earlier, *History of the Netherlands East Indies* (2 vols., 1109 pp.), a thorough but rather dry piece of work. Much more interesting is *J. S. Furnivall, Netherlands India, A study of plural economy* (1939, 502 pp.). The author is a British civil servant whose main aim in studying the Dutch administration of the Indonesian Archipelago was to arrive at conclusions which might be applied in the administration of Burma. As is indicated by the title, the chief interest is in economic problems, with special stress on the nineteenth century, for on p. 60 of this heavy tome the reader has already arrived at the year 1800. A remarkable book is *Nusantara, A History of the East Indian Archipelago* (1943, 526 pp., 4th wholly revised edition, 1959, 479 pp.) by *B. H. M. Vlekke*. The author never lived in the tropics and as a historian he was interested in completely different subjects, when the war in 1940 drove him from Rome, where he was working as secretary of the Netherlands Historical Institute, to the United States. There he was engaged by the Netherlands Information Service and commissioned to write a work which was to introduce the history of the Netherlands empire in Asia to the American public in an engaging fashion. Although it is evident from the book that Vlekke does not know the tropics and that several incompetent members of the Information Service tried to exert their influence on its compilation, whilst the last chapter on the second world war (at least in the Dutch version of 1947) seems to have been too much adapted to the tastes of the American reader, it should be stated that Vlekke has well fulfilled his task. It is astonishing to observe how quickly the author mastered a subject wholly alien to him but there are many mistakes in the details.

I shall only mention a few of the less extensive surveys written in Dutch. *H. T. Colenbrander, Koloniale Geschiedenis* (Colonial History, I, 1925, 413 pp.; II, 1925, 333 pp.; III, 1926, 289 pp.) gives in its first volume a survey of the colonisation by other European peoples, beginning with the Portuguese; great attention is paid to the formation

and the history of the United States (pp. 39—132) and of South Africa (pp. 156—244). In volume II, 44 pages are devoted to a brief survey of the history of the Dutch in the New World, the remainder of the volume containing the history of the East Indies until 1816. Volume III gives the history of the Netherlands East Indies under the Kingdom of the Netherlands; this volume also contains a number of sketch maps. The work was destined for those students who were preparing themselves for a career in the Netherlands colonial civil service; the author's liberal views are clearly apparent. However, the reader will observe soon enough that Colenbrander possessed no personal experience of either the West or the East Indies. The main object of *H. J. de Graaf* in writing his *Geschiedenis van Indonesië* (History of Indonesia, 1949, 513 pp.) was to provide a handbook for teachers; the new element in his work is the result of his personal study of Indonesian sources. Of a more general nature are the two collections by *F. Dekker*, *Voortrekkers van Oud Nederland* (Pioneers of Old Holland), both destined for the general reader. In the first collection (1938, 404 pp.) the author describes the establishment of Dutch colonies in Germany (pp. 5—107), Sweden (pp. 107—144), Denmark and Norway (pp. 144—191), Russia (pp. 191—222), India (pp. 222—265), Brazil (pp. 265—286), Ceylon (pp. 286—318), Esthonia (pp. 318—326), Australia (pp. 326—343) and in the Mediterranean area (pp. 343—387). In the second collection (1947, 260 pp.) he describes Dutch settlements in England (pp. 4—32), France (pp. 33—127), Further India (pp. 128—183), Formosa (pp. 184—211) and Persia (pp. 212—242).

Still interesting is the discussion of Dutch colonisation during the 17th and 18th centuries by the Belgian author *Charles de Lannoy* in the *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens* (History of the Colonial Expansion of the European Peoples, 1911, 392 pp.) a work he published in collaboration with *H. Vander Linden*. After an introduction concerning the mother-country, the expansion, the administration, the economic system, Dutch culture in the colonies and the effect on the home-country are discussed. In *A History of South-East Asia* (Eng. 1955, 807 pp.) by *D. G. E. Hall* sufficient attention is paid to the activities of the Dutch in this area, but the author has not been quite successful in attaining the necessary objectivity when describing

the opposition between the Dutch and the British in these regions.

The *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Encyclopedia of the Netherlands East Indies; 4 vols., 1917—1921, approx. 3500 pp.; 4 supplementary vols., and 2 fascicles of a 5th supplement, 1927—1940, approx. 2000 pp.) contains important historical articles and bibliographies; here we only mention the article on the English in the Malay Archipelago by *J. E. Heeres* in vol. I, p. 672 sq.

A work still of the greatest importance, likewise of an encyclopedic nature, is the very extensive *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (The East Indies, old and new; 1724—1726, in five parts in 8 large folio tomes with in all more than 4800 pages) by *François Valentijn*. This minister of the Dutch Reformed Church lived for many years on Amboyna and Java, and during this period he collected an enormous mass of information, especially in the fields of history and geography, concerning all the parts of the world where the V.O.C. was active. He obtained these data from prominent officials of the Company, reproducing them carefully in his work; his methods are certainly not in accordance with our present views on copyright and even in his own time insiders will have been shocked to see how he adorned himself with borrowed plumes. However this may be, it does not detract from the fact that his great book is both an extensive and a reliable collection of material which also pays great attention to the history of the Asians themselves; in this way much is to be found here concerning the Moghul empire. Evidently, Valentijn was not equally well informed in all fields; he is most detailed about the Spice Islands where he had lived so long. Up to the present day Valentijn has to be consulted for many questions of detail.

Several decades before Valentijn wrote his magnum opus, a nearly equally large — and great — book had been written between 1693 and 1701, a book of a somewhat similar nature. The “Heeren XVII”, the “Seventeen Gentlemen” who were the governors of the V.O.C. and who may best be compared with the members of the board of a modern limited company, had commissioned their advocate (a position similar to that of the director of a company) *Pieter van Dam* to compile a *Beschryvinge* (Description) from the enormous mass of the Company’s papers. Van Dam, who occupied the position of advocate during the



years 1652—1706 (!), produced an excellent piece of work. His work differs from that of Valentijn in so far that it was his task to record everything that might be of importance to the directors of this powerful trading body for the exercise of their duties. Owing to this the purely Asiatic side receives less stress, but in other respects the work excels that of Valentijn. Van Dam had all kinds of often highly secret documents at his disposal which Valentijn never knew; moreover, from actual practice he knew all the ins and outs of the whole concern and therefore he was able to show a much keener appreciation of it than the clergyman. What is the reason that his *Beschryvinge van de Oost-indische Compagnie* (Description of the East Indies Company) is far less known than Valentijn's *Oost-Indiën*? The governors of the Company believed it to be of the greatest importance that the secrets of their business should not be divulged; the two copies of Van Dam's manuscript were placed in a chest in their assembly hall, well locked with several locks, the keys being held by different governors so that none of them would be able to consult the work by himself and to his own profit. Even the existence of the work was kept secret from all other persons. Although it was consulted by a few historians during the nineteenth century, it was only in recent times that it was published by the Commission for National Historical Publications, excellently annotated and introduced by *F. W. Stapel*. Book I (2 vols. 1927, 772 pp., and 1929, 728 pp.) contains the establishment of the Company, its charter and the description of its organisation and its activities in Holland. Book II (3 vols., 1931, 858 pp., 1932, 481 pp. and 1939, 643 pp.) outlines the development of the trade and of the territory of the V.O.C. in the enormous area between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, giving economic, political and military history. Book III (1943, 612 pp.) describes the organisation of the Company's territorial administration in Asia, with great stress on the official hierarchy; it also deals with attempts at the foundation of colonies and the fight against private trade. Book IV, by far the smallest in scope (306 pp.), contains a description of the development and the organisation of the church, in this case of course of the Dutch Reformed Church; edited by *C. W. Th. baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam* it was published in 1954. Book V contained a survey of the numerous controversies between

the V.O.C., and England, but it has been missing since 1857 at the latest. Professor Blok, the historian, supposed that it was consulted about 1820 during the negotiations in London concerning the questions pending between Holland and England and that at that time it was mislaid by one of the advisors. If it reappears it will certainly be published; directors of archives or libraries who might discover it, will greatly oblige Dutch historians by informing them of this event.

Although the directors of the Company objected to the unveiling of their business secrets, they were more favourably disposed towards the publication of scholarly works. The number of its servants who proceeded to do so was rather large, especially during the 17th century, and the standard of their work was usually high, contrary to the expectations one might have about the qualifications of merchants, administrators, seamen and soldiers. A survey of their activities is to be found in the chapter on Science and Art in volume III of the *History of the Netherlands East Indies* published under the editorship of *F. W. Stapel* mentioned above. Many of the works discussed there will be mentioned in the following pages.

## B. SOURCES

We shall now mention some of the most important general source publications on the history of the Company.

First of all mention should be made of the collection of the most important parts of the rich Company archives at the Hague, compiled and provided with lucid introductions by *J. K. J. de Jonge*. The first three volumes (1862—1865, 1231 pp.), for the period 1595—1610, cover the whole of the Company's area; in the later seven volumes (1869—1878, approx. 3350 pp.) the editor restricted himself to Java up to 1764. After his death three more volumes appeared (1883—1888, 1927 pp.), edited by *M. L. van Deventer* who continued the work up to the year 1810. To these *L. W. G. de Roo* added two supplementary volumes for the period 1808—1811, the years of the governor-generalship of Marshal Daendels (1909, 886 pp.). It is curious that the whole work bears a title which is only fitting for the initial volumes, viz. *De*

*Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië* (The rise of Dutch power in the East Indies), because since the 18th century there was hardly any question of rise. *P. A. Tiele*, who between 1877 and 1887 had published in the B.K.I. an excellent *Geschiedenis der Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel* (History of the Europeans in the Malay Archipelago, approx. 830 pp.) which ran up to the year 1623, in 1886 took the initiative for an extension of the *Opkomst* by means of the publication of source material concerning the parts of the Archipelago outside Java. Before his death he was only able to publish one volume of this sub-series which bears the title *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel* (Materials for the history of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago), to which two volumes were added by *J. E. Heeres* (1890—1895, the three volumes together containing approx. 1250 pp.) bringing the work up to the year 1649.

The records at Batavia also provided rich material for a grandly conceived publication of sources, for it is here mostly — though not exclusively — that the so-called *Dagh-Registers van Batavia* (Daily records of Batavia) are to be found. Contrary to what one would expect from the title, these papers do not so much contain a day-to-day record of events in the capital of the Company's empire, but rather a meticulous account of the ships entering and leaving this port, together with very detailed reports of all the news these ships brought from all those parts of the world with which the Company maintained contacts. The most important letters from Asiatic rulers have even been included in translation together with the replies quoted in full, at least up to 1750; after this date the importance of the *Dagh-Registers* quickly diminishes, as they come to be not much more than simple lists of ships entering and leaving the port. However, for the period 1628—1750 the *Dagh-Registers* are a source of primary importance for all events in Asia in so far as these were of interest to the Company. They are not complete; between 1628 and 1663 many years are missing, either completely or partly. It was the very active Keeper of the Records *J. A. van der Chijs* who in 1887 was able to persuade the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences to publish the *Dagh-Registers*. Several historians, *J. A. van der Chijs*, *H. T. Colenbrander*, *J. de Hullu*, *F. de Haan*, *Mrs. W. Fruin-Mees*, were engaged on this task; 31 volumes were published, arriving

at the year 1682. These records gradually increase in size, those for the year 1682 (published in 2 vols. in 1928 and 1931, approx. 1500 pp.) being the largest. It is not to be expected that the Batavia Society will continue the work. The compilers have not made things easy for the reader; introductions being practically absent and explanatory notes, which are highly necessary especially for the place-names, not being provided at all, whilst except for the last few volumes the indices are incomplete.

*Van der Chijs* alone compiled the seventeen volumes of the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602—1811* (Collection of Netherlands East Indies edicts), a collection of the laws and ordinances of the Batavia authorities (1885—1900, approx. 12000 pp.). This collection forms the basis for all studies in legal history which will be mentioned in the following pages. *P. Mijer's Verzameling van Instructiën, ordonnanciën en reglementen voor de Regering van Nederlandsch Indië, 1609—1836* (Collection of Decrees, Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Netherlands East Indies, 1609—1836, 1848) is still useful.

In 1907 *J. E. Heeres* took the initiative for the publication of a complete collection of the political contracts and other treaties concluded by the Dutch with Asian rulers between the years 1596 and 1799. This *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum* was published in six volumes, the first five appearing in the series of the B.K.I., between 1907 and 1938; it contains 1198 contracts (I, 586 pp., and II, 625 pp., both edited by *J. E. Heeres*; III, 616 pp., IV, 610 pp., V, 637 pp., VI, 1955, 743 pp., all edited by *F. W. Stapel*).

Mention should also be made of the three volumes of *Realia* (1882—1886, 504 + 285 + 406 pp.) which contain an alphabetical index of the *Generale Resolutiën van het kasteel Batavia, 1632—1805* (General resolutions taken at Batavia Castle), a work which is not to be underestimated especially for the 18th century.

The present author was commissioned by the Netherlands Government to compile for the R.G.P. a ten-volume selection from the so-called *Generale Missiven* (General Despatches), i.e. from the exhaustive reports which the „Hooge Regeering”, the supreme government, that is to say the governor-general together with the Council of the Indies, had to submit to their masters, the “Seventeen Gentlemen” in Holland,

usually once a year, or more often if more ships went home which could take letters. The first volume, running to approximately 1638, recently appeared (1960, XXIV + 782 pp.). Source publications concerning limited subjects will be mentioned below.

## C. MONOGRAPHS

### 1. ESTABLISHMENT AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE V.O.C.

A work which discusses the significance of the colonisation in the East and in the West for the economic life of the Netherlands is the second volume of *O. van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland* (History of political economy in the Netherlands; 504 pp.), with the sub-title *Geschiedenis der koloniale politiek van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (History of the colonial policy of the United Dutch Republic); the work was written as early as 1868 and as such it is typical of the liberal views of those days. In a short article *De V.O.C. en de welvaart in de Republiek* (The V.O.C. and prosperity of the Republic, T. v. G. 61, 1948, pp. 225—231) *I. J. Brugmans* arrives at the conclusion that the Company "certainly contributed to the expansion of the trade. But the phenomenal development of the United Provinces is certainly not due to any large extent to the activities of the Company". The figures in this article have been taken in part from the German publication by *G. C. Klerk de Reus, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen, rechtlichen und finanziellen Entwicklung der V.O.C.* (Historical survey of the administrative, judicial and financial development of the V.O.C.; *Verhandelingen* (Proceedings) B.G., vol. XLVII, 1894, 323 pp., with numerous appendices in tabular form). This work is of importance particularly because of the great many figures it provides for all parts of the Company's history; it is again mainly based on data found scattered in Van Dam's *Beschryvinge*. In his *Rechtsvorm en Geldelijk Beheer bij de V.O.C.* (Legal status and financial management in the V.O.C.; 1922, 112 pp. + appendices), *W. M. F. Mansvelt* has shown the difficulties of understanding the Company's system of bookkeeping. He assumes the Company to have been a business on joint account, in opposition to the view that the

V.O.C. was a limited company, held by both *S. van Brakel, De Hollandsche Handelscompagnieën der Zeventiende Eeuw* (The Dutch trading companies in the 17th century, 1908, 189 pp.) and *E. J. J. van der Heyden, De ontwikkeling der Naamlooze Vennootschap voor de Codificatie* (The development of the Limited Company before the codification; 1908). The views of the two last mentioned authors received support from writers both in the field of law and in that of economic history. An intermediate standpoint was taken by *C. de Heer, Bijdrage tot de financiële geschiedenis der V.O.C.* (Contribution to the financial history of the V.O.C.; 1929, 108 pp.).

In 1856 *J. A. van der Chijs* presented his still valuable doctor's thesis *Geschiedenis der stichting van de V.O.C.* (History of the foundation of the V.O.C.; 170 pp.) in which he outlines the difficulties experienced by the Dutch statesman Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, when he wanted to create one single strong general company instead of the numerous weak groups of merchants trading in Asia, and how this led to the extremely complicated organisation of the V.O.C. in 1602. In E.H.J. XIII, 1927, (pp. 215—246) *F. W. Stapel* published a number of V.O.C. shares, as well as a short note on *Johannes Hudde over de Balansen van de V.O.C.* (Johannes Hudde's remarks on the V.O.C. balance-sheets), in the same publication, XVI, 1930, (pp. 1—165) *J. G. van Dillen* gave a paper on *Isaac le Maire en de handel in actiën der V.O.C.* (I. le Maire and the trade in V.O.C. shares). In E.H.J. XXIV, 1950 (pp. 1—33) *W. S. Unger* published *Het Inschrijvingsregister van de Kamer Zeeland der V.O.C.* (Subscription list of partners in the V.O.C. in the Department of Zeeland in 1602). *Het Oudste Aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der V.O.C.* (The first register of partners in the V.O.C. in the Department of Amsterdam, 1958, 294 pp.) has been compiled by *J. G. van Dillen* with copious introductions and notes.

Of interest is *H. Terpstra's* article *Enige opmerkingen over het bedrijf der V.O.C.* (Some remarks concerning the commercial operations of the V.O.C., T. v. G. 57, 1942, pp. 1—34), in which he studies particularly the nature of the V.O.C. as a trading organisation. A very important contribution has been made by the Danish historian *Kristof Glamann* in his *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620—1740* (Eng. 1958, 334 pp.). He is especially interested in the trade between the Asian factories

of the Company with the Departments ("Kamers") in the Netherlands; we still want a work on the inter-Asian trade relations of the Company. *J. C. van Leur, On Early Asian Trade* (in his *Indonesian Trade and Society*, Eng. 1955, p. 1—144) is a good introduction, as it carries to the coming of the Europeans. *W. A. Horst* discussed *De Peperhandel der V.O.C.* (The pepper trade of the V.O.C., in *B. V. G. VIII/iii*, 1941, pp. 95—104). *A. K. A. Gijssberti Hodenpijl* drew attention to the attempts made by governor-general Van Imhoff in 1745 to enter into commercial contact with Spanish America (*B.K.I.* 73, 1917, pp. 502—557).

Towards the end of the 18th century the French succeeded in bringing cloves and nutmeg plants to their possession, Ile de France (Mauritius). Before that, these plants only occurred on the Spice Islands. Documents on this subject were published by Miss *M. Ly-Tio-Fane* (1958, 148 pp.) under the title *Mauritius and the Spice Trade. The Odyssey of Pierre Poivre*.

A series of articles especially devoted to the trade in wood were published by *E. H. B. Brascamp* in *T. B. G.* (59, 1920 to 72, 1932).

In his inaugural lecture, entitled *Verloren Kansen* (Lost Chances, 1955, 21 pp.) *W. Ph. Coolhaas* shows with particular reference to the Netherlands East Indies, that none of the Dutch establishments overseas, with the exception of South Africa, ever developed into a genuine settlement or an area of Dutch civilisation.

A completely different subject was treated by a commission under the direction of *J. C. Overvoorde* and *P. de Roo de la Faille* in an attractive and beautifully illustrated work, *De Gebouwen van de V.O.C. en van de W.I.C. in Nederland* (The buildings of the V.O.C. and the W.I.C. in Holland, 1928, 192 pp. also in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, VIII). Additional data are given by *R. Meischke* in *Bulletin van de Kon. Ned. Oudheidkundige Bond* (B. of the Royal Neth. Antiquarians' Association; 6th series, 11th year, 1958, p. 197—219) under the title *Het Indisch Huis te Amsterdam* (East Indies House at Amsterdam).

An important book on the influence of colonial controversies between the Dutch and the English in their political relations in the middle of the 17th century is Vol. II (The Dutch-British antagonism outside Europe, 1923, 235 pp.) of *J. E. Elias'* work *Het Voorspel van den eersten Engelschen Oorlog* (The Prelude to the First English War).

## 2. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Several legal problems of a greatly varying nature to which the history of the Company gave rise were treated by a number of authors. In his *De Rechtsvoorschriften voor de vaart op Oost-Indië, 1595—1620* (Legal rules concerning navigation to the East Indies, 1595—1620; 1940, 307 pp.), *H. Hoogenberk* provided a clear and exhaustive survey of this difficult problem. *J. P. G. Schmitz* studied the *Delict van Desertie van Dienaren der V.O.C.* (Delict of Desertion of V.O.C. servants, 1938, 393 pp.). A valuable study by a historian who is not a jurist is *F. W. Stapel's Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Rechtspraak bij de V.O.C.* (Contributions to the History of the administration of justice under the V.O.C.; in B.K.I. 89, 1932, pp. 41—74 and pp. 297—313; 90, 1933, pp. 89—139). A lawyer with great interest in history and a law-historian to boot was *J. van Kan*; his studies are probably the best in this field. Of his papers the following should be mentioned: *Uit de Rechtsgeschiedenis der Compagnie* (Miscellaneous notes on the history of V.O.C. law; I, *18de Eeuw*, 18th Century, 1930, 221 pp.; II, *Rechtsgeleerd bedrijf in de Buitencomptoiren*, Legal activities in the Company's establishments outside Java, 1935, which also appeared in T.B.G. 74, 1934, pp. 1—69, 189—268, 477—515); *De Rechtstitels der Compagnie* (The legal titles of the Company, 1942, 65 pp.) where he explains the legal basis of the authority exercised by the Company in various parts of Asia and Africa; *Uit de Ceilonsche Rechtsgeschiedenis* (Miscellaneous notes on the legal history of Ceylon, in B.K.I. 102, 1943, pp. 441—459); *De teboekstelling van het procesrecht in de 18de eeuw* (The codification of the law of procedure in the 18th century, in *Feestbundel . . . van het Bataviaasch Genootschap . . .*, Jubilee volume of the Batavia Society, 1929, vol. I, pp. 251—290); *De Bataviasche Statuten en de Buitencomptoiren* (The Batavia statutes and the establishments outside Java, in B.K.I. 100, 1941, pp. 255—282), where he discusses the validity for the other settlements of the collection of regulations for Batavia of the year 1650; *Het Rechtsmiddel der Revisie voor den Raad van Justitie des Kasteels Batavia* (The legal means of revision for the Law Court of Batavia Castle, in B.K.I. 102, 1943, pp. 1—40).

*C. Gerretson* expressed his disagreement with the last mentioned



article in his *De Raad van Justitie des Kasteels Batavia* (The Law Court of Batavia Castle, in B.K.I. 103, 1946, pp. 307—337) in which he tried to prove the subordinate position of this court as regards the supreme government. In *De Rechterlijke Organisatie en Rechtsbedeling te Batavia in de 17de eeuw* (The judiciary Organisation and Administration of justice at Batavia in the 17th century; 1951, 164 pp.), J. la Bree gives a somewhat bookishly legalistic survey of this subject. Although H. A. Idema's *Overzicht van de Indische rechts- en staatkundige geschiedenis, 1600—1854* (Survey of the legal and political history of the East Indies, 1600—1854, in K.S. 12, vol. 2, 1928, pp. 291—321, and 13, vol. 1, 1929, pp. 47—77) is a little superficial, it is satisfactory as a general introduction. A. A. de Vries wrote *Een en ander over de Indische Rechterlijke Organisatie en Rechtspraak in den tijd der V.O.C.* (Some remarks on the judiciary organisation and the administration of justice in the days of the V.O.C., in K.T. 1918, pp. 1426—1441 and 1543—1556). In his *Volkenrecht in vroeger Makassar* (International law in ancient Makassar, in Ind. VI, 1953, pp. 393—410) G. J. Resink gives an outline of the international law in the still independent kingdom of Gowa (i.e. Makassar) up to approx. 1670, when this state came under Dutch influence; in this way he provides insight into the difference between the concept of justice of the Dutch and that of the Indonesians. Another contribution in the field of international law is L. W. Alders, *Internationale Rechtspraak tussen Indonesische Rijken en de V.O.C. tot 1700* (International jurisdiction between Indonesian states and the V.O.C. upto 1700; no date, 142 pp.).

### 3. ARMY AND NAVY

The history of the army — not especially of military actions, although these are occasionally mentioned — is treated by D. de Iongh in *Het Krijgswezen onder de V.O.C.* (The military organisation under the V.O.C.; 1950, 203 pp.). K. C. Crucq, who had been struck by the magical powers which the Indonesian population attributes to guns of the time of the Company, became a specialist in this curious field. He started to delve deeply into the history of these pieces of artillery, publishing a considerable number of articles on this subject in the T.B.G.

The most important of these contributions are: *De drie Heilige Kanonnen* (The three sacred cannons in T.B.G. 70, 1930, pp. 195—204); *De Geschiedenis van het heilig kanon te Batavia* (The history of the sacred cannon at Batavia, *ibid.* 77, 1937, pp. 105—129); *De Geschiedenis van het heilig kanon te Banten* (The history of the sacred cannon at Bantam, *ibid.* 78, 1938, pp. 359—391); *De kanonnen in den kraton te Soerakarta* (The cannons in the sultan's palace at Surakarta, *ibid.* 78, 1938, pp. 93—110); *De verdwenen kanonnen van het kasteel van Japara* (The lost cannons of the castle at Japara, *ibid.* 80, 1940, pp. 34—48); *Nog eenige gegevens omtrent de kanonnen te Soerakarta* (Additional data concerning the cannons at Surakarta, *ibid.* 80, 1940, pp. 49—59); *De geschiedenis van het heilig kanon van Makassar* (The history of the sacred cannon of Makassar, *ibid.* 81, 1941, pp. 74—95).

For the navy there does not exist a book similar to that of De Jongh for the army. On the other hand *N. MacLeod* gives a valuable and extensive survey of the activities of the fleet in all parts of the area covered by the Company's charter in his *De V.O.C. als Zeemogendheid in Azië* (The V.O.C. as a naval power in Asia; 1927, 2 vols., 528 + 485 pp.), based on the *Generale Missiven* (cf. p. 29); it is to be regretted that the period treated only goes as far as 1650. In his inaugural lecture *De invloed van de zeemacht op de geschiedenis der V.O.C.* (The influence of the navy on the history of the V.O.C.; 1946, 23 pp.) *T. H. Milo* shows convincingly that the decline of the navy was one of the most important causes of the ruin of the Company. The importance of the Company's fleet to the mother-country in times of danger was discussed by *F. W. Stapel* in his lecture *De V.O.C. in de groote oorlogen der 17de eeuw* (The V.O.C. during the great wars of the 17th century; 1932, 24 pp.). Highly interesting are four articles which *J. de Hullu* devoted to *Matrozen en Soldaten* (Sailors and soldiers; B.K.I. 69, 1914, pp. 318—365), *De handhaving der Orde en Tucht* (Good order and discipline; B.K.I. 67, 1913, pp. 516—540), *De Voeding* (Victuals; B.K.I. 67, 1913, pp. 541—562), and *Ziekten en Dokters op de schepen der V.O.C.* (Illness and surgeons on board the V.O.C. ships; B.K.I. 67, 1913, pp. 245—272). These articles provide a vivid picture of various aspects of the hard life on board.

## 4. MEDICINE AND THE SCIENCES

The last of the articles mentioned above brings us to the history of medicine which has been extensively and lucidly treated by *D. Schoute* in his *De geneeskunde in den Dienst der V.O.C. in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Medicine in the service of the V.O.C. in the Netherlands East Indies, 1929, 347 pp.). An English summary of this book and of a work on the 19th century to be mentioned below is to be found in his *Occidental therapeutics in the Netherlands East Indies during three centuries of Netherlands settlement, 1600—1900* (Eng. 1937). In 1921, on the occasion of the fourth congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, *L. S. A. M. von Römer* had already started to work in this field with his *Historische Schetsen* (Historical Sketches, 335 pp. with many illustrations), where one chapter is devoted to Dutch influence on the development of Japanese medical science; in the second part of his book the survey is brought up to modern times.

Of equal interest is *M. J. Sirks*, *Indisch Natuuronderzoek* (Science and Research in the East Indies; 1915, 303 pp.) which describes the history of the study of the natural sciences by the Dutch in the tropics by means of biographical sketches of the leading scientists, the first one being the physician Bontius who arrived in Batavia in 1627.

As non-specialists are usually at a loss when faced with monetary and numismatic questions, I beg leave to refer the reader for these "sciences" to the article *Muntwezen* (the monetary system) in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Encyclopedia of the Netherlands East Indies, vol. II, p. 793—811) which lists the most important literature on the subject. The main works in this field are *E. Netscher* and *J. A. van der Chijs*, *De munten van Nederlandsch Indië beschreven en afgebeeld* (The coins of the Netherlands East Indies, described and illustrated; 1863), many articles by *J. P. Moquette* in T.B.G. 49, 1907, to 52, 1910, entitled *De munten van Nederlandsch Indië* (The coins of the Netherlands East Indies), and an excellent work, destined especially for collectors, by *C. Scholten*, *De Munten van de Nederlandsche gebiedsdeelen overzee 1601—1948* (The Coins of the Dutch Oversea-possession, 1601—1948, 1951, 176 + 20 pp.).

## 5. RELIGION AND EDUCATION

On these matters favourable pronouncements are hardly to be expected from the Roman Catholic side, as the Company did not suffer any Catholics among its servants, and in this period it was only its servants who came to the East. The R. C. Church was barely tolerated, whilst missionary work was not permitted, because the Catholics were considered potential supporters of the Spaniards and the Portuguese rather than for the reasons which made the Protestant clergy fulminate against them. *B. J. J. Visser M. S. C.* discussed the subject in his *Onder de Compagnie; Geschiedenis der Katholieke Missie van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1606—1800* (Under the Company; history of the Catholic mission in the Netherlands East Indies, 1606—1800; 1934). This book had been preceded by *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche Vlag* (Under the Portuguese and Spanish flag; 1925, 340 pp.) which discusses the R. C. mission in Indonesia between 1511 and 1605; here the Dutch appear of course only towards the end of the book. *C. Wessels S. J.* is mainly engaged in studying the mission during the Portuguese supremacy, based on a careful study of the sources. He wrote a series of studies — mainly published in the periodical *Studiën* — which deal each with a different part of the area which was eventually to become the Netherlands East Indies. The most extensive of these studies, *De Geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina, 1546—1605* (The history of the R.C. mission on Amboyna, 1546—1605; 1926, 204 pp.) deserves special mention here, because it describes the destruction of the mission by the V.O.C., and also because it contains important data from missionary sources concerning the secular history of the Spice Islands.

The number of publications concerning the Protestant Church is of course much greater. In a general way *L. Knappert* gives a *Schets van eene Geschiedenis onzer Handelskerken* (Sketch of a History of our Trade-Churches, 1928, 148 pp.). In his *De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië onder de V.O.C., 1602—1795* (The Reformed Church in the Netherlands East Indies under the V.O.C., 1602—1795; 1884, 705 pp.) *C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruyn* gave a systematic survey in thirteen chapters of church statistics, liturgy, church government, the clergy, etc., etc.; the arrangement, particularly as regards the chronology, might have been made more attractive for the historian. The same

author also compiled a *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten* (Biographical dictionary of the Protestant clergy in the East Indies; 1893), and a work on the lower servants of the church whose labours lay especially among the sailors etc., *Krankbezoekers in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (Sick-visitors in the Netherlands East Indies; 1902). From 1884 to 1891 *J. A. Grothe* published six volumes of documents of special importance to the history of the Protestant mission under the title *Archief voor de Geschiedenis der oude Holland-sche Zending* (Archives for the history of the early Dutch Protestant mission). In 1906 *C. W. Th. baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam* wrote a solid contribution on *De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de Zending in Oost-Indië in de dagen der V.O.C.* (The Reformed Churches in Holland and the mission in the East Indies in the days of the V.O.C.), and in 1942 a publication of source-material, *Correspondentie van Ds. Adriaan Jacobsz. Hulsebos* (Correspondence of the Reverend A. J. Hulsebos, in *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, Netherlands Archives for Ecclesiastical History, 33, 109 pp.); Hulsebos was one of the first clergymen in the East.

A promising step for the promotion of the study of the history of the Protestant churches in the East Indies seemed to have been taken when the Minister for the Colonies commissioned the Reverend *J. Mooy* to compile an ecclesiastical history and at the same time to publish the most important documents on this subject. Of this *Geschiedenis der Protestantische Kerk in Nederlandsch Indië* (History of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands East Indies) the first volume (494 pp.), covering only the period 1602—1636, appeared in 1923. Three volumes were published of the source material, *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Protestantische Kerk in Nederlandsch Indië* (Material for the history of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands East Indies), mostly dealing with the resolutions of the elders and deacons of the church of Batavia (vol. I, 1927, 839 pp., covering the years 1620—1645; vol. II, 1929, 715 pp., for 1646—1665, and vol. III, 1931, 916 pp., for the years 1666—1691). The deterioration of the financial situation led the Minister to suspend the publication of this undertaking which had been planned on too grand a scale. Because both works enter too much into details, whilst they lack a clear division, they are not easy to consult; the diffi-

culties are aggravated by the fact that the indices only contain names of persons. More readily accessible is the work by *Baron van Boetgelaer* which extends up to the present period, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch Indië, haar ontwikkeling van 1620 (recte 1602)—1939* (The Protestant Church in the Netherlands East Indies, its development from 1602 to 1939; 1947, 488 pp.). An article by the same author discusses *De Geschiedenis van de Maleische Bijbelvertaling in Nederlandsch Indië* (The History of the Malay translation of the Bible in the Netherlands East Indies, in B.K.I. 100, 1941, pp. 27—48). *Land en kerk in Nederlandsch Indië, historisch-staatsrechtelijke schets* (State and Church in the Netherlands East Indies, a historical and constitutional sketch; 1933, 148 pp.) by *C. Lion Cachet* discusses the relation between the secular authorities and the church in a work which is mainly concerned with the 19th and 20th centuries.

This is also the case with *I. J. Brugmans'* very readable *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië* (History of education in the Netherlands East Indies; 1938, 370 pp.).

## 6. ART

The history of art during the period of the Company has also found its students. In 1939 *V. I. van de Wall* described *Het Hollandsche koloniale barokmeubel* (Dutch colonial baroque furniture, 231 pp.; see the important and highly critical review by *A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der Hoop* in T.B.G. 80, 1940, pp. 633—648). *Mrs. J. de Loos-Haaxman* studied the portraits of the governors-general and the painters in the service of the Company in her *De Landsverzameling Schilderijen in Batavia* (The Government collection of paintings at Batavia; 1941, one text-volume, 185 pp., one volume with 123 beautiful illustrations. It should be added that at present the portraits of all governors-general are to be found in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam). Moreover, in T.B.G. (1932—1940) she published numerous articles on certain painters and their work. The poet, novelist and essayist *E. du Perron* compiled a very pleasant collection of literary products of the days of the Company under the title *De Muze van Jan Compagnie* (The Muse of John Company; 1948, 218 pp.). In *Java in onze kunst* (Java in Dutch art; 1931, 254 pp.) *G. Brom* discusses the effect of the contact with the

East on Dutch art. A sketch on the theatre at Batavia is to be found in *N. P. van den Berg's Uit de dagen der Compagnie* (In the days of the Company; 1904, pp. 95—191).

## D. BIOGRAPHIES

### 1. PIONEERS

There are many studies which deal with certain persons or groups of persons who figured in overseas' history; a few of these have already been referred to in passing; in the following we shall discuss the most important of those not yet mentioned.

In the first place we have *J. H. de Stoppelaar's* excellent biography of the great merchant *Balthasar de Moucheron*, a native of Normandy who had settled at Middelburg (1901, 218 + 101 pp.). De Moucheron was one of the first to have his numerous ships undertake voyages outside European waters, and so he became one of the precursors both of the V.O.C. and the W.I.C.; however, he was too much of an individualist to be able to comply with the rules of the Companies. The same applies to an even higher degree to his compeer *Isaïc le Maire* who had left Tournay to establish himself at Amsterdam; on p. 14 the expedition was mentioned which he equipped to round Cape Horn. In 1865 the great Dutch archivist and historian *R. C. Bakhuizen van den Brink* wrote an excellent sketch of his life (reprinted i.a. in the *Historisch Leesboek*, Historical Reader, compiled by *H. Brugmans*, 1911, pp. 190—242). Less known is *Pieter Lintgens*, another native of the Southern Netherlands who had taken refuge in Amsterdam and who became one of the main shareholders of the V.O.C.; concerning him *J. W. IJzerman* published some notes (B.K.I. 84, 1928, pp. 132—161). A very remarkable figure was yet another immigrant from the Southern Netherlands at Amsterdam, the rigidly orthodox and intolerant minister of the Reformed Church *Petrus Plancius* (1552—1622), who possessed great merits as a geographer and a cartographer. He was a very able theoretician and trained many seamen for their task; he also exercised great influence on the plans for the first voyages to the East Indies. His biography was written by *J. Keuning* (1946, 187 pp.). For one of the earliest and most sympathetic admirals of the voyages to the Indies, *Jacob van Neck* we possess an interesting biography by *H. Terpstra*

(1950, 202 pp.). *P. A. Tiele* published the autobiography of the no less attractive naval leader *Steven van der Hagen* (in B.M.H.G. 1883, pp. 377—421).

## 2. GOVERNORS-GENERAL

As early as 1763 there appeared at the Hague a French *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux* (Lives of the Governors-General), compiled by *J. P. S. Du Bois*, mainly based on *Valentijn* (see p. 25), who had of course treated this subject extensively in his encyclopedic work. *M. A. van Rhede van der Kloot* provides a historical and genealogical sketch of these men in his *De Gouverneurs-Generaal en Commissarissen-Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië, 1610—1888* (The Governors-General and Commissioners-General of the Netherlands East Indies between 1610 and 1888; 1891, 355 pp.); giving a brief survey of their careers, their closest relatives and the main events during their periods of office. Supplementary notes concerning the governors-general up to 1945 as well as corrections of Van der Kloot's genealogical data were published by *W. Ph. Coolhaas* in the journal *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* (1956, LXXIII, pp. 339—356 and 385—393). In an attractive booklet, *Gouverneurs-Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië* (1941, 127 pp.) *F. W. Stapel* gave a brief biography of each of these men, facing the photograph of their painting in the collection studied in the work by Mrs. de Loos-Haaxman (see p. 39).

Among the governors-general of the 17th century, five rose far above the level of their colleagues, viz. Jan Pietersz. Coen, the great founder of the Company's power in Asia and the builder of Batavia (1619—1623 and 1627—1629), Antonio van Diemen who fought the Portuguese and under whom the V.O.C. became a great sea-power in Asia (1636—1645), the lawyer Joan Maetsuycker who was at its head for twenty-five years (1653—1678) and his successors Rijckloff van Goens (1678—1681) who was able to acquire for the Company the whole coast of Ceylon and the most important establishments on the Malabar coast and Cornelis Jansz. Speelman (1681—1684) who managed to establish the Company's supremacy in the southern part of Celebes as well as over the greatest part of Java.

On Coen a great deal has been published. In commemoration of the tercentenary of the foundation of Batavia, the Royal Institute (cf. p. 7)



sponsored a great publication of sources which made all earlier biographies out of date. In this series *H. T. Colenbrander* edited five volumes: *Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië* (Documents concerning his stay in the East Indies). Vol. I (1919, 854 pp.) contains Coen's letters up to 1623; these are all the more readable because Coen wrote an excellent style. Vol. II (1920, 815 pp.) and III (1921, 1062 pp.), up to p. 284, contain his letters to his collaborators in Asia. The remainder of vol. III reproduces the resolutions taken during his government, vol. IV (1922, 781 pp.) contains the judicial verdicts pronounced during his tenure of office, as well as the letters addressed to him by the directors of the Company in Holland. Vol. V (1923, 895 pp.) contains all documents which concern his second tenure of office (September 1627—September 1629). Next, Colenbrander wrote vol. VI, the *Levensbeschrijving* (Biography: 1934, 513 pp.), further amplified by *Enkele nieuwe gegevens* (Some new data), an article published in the Dutch periodical *De Gids* (July 1940, pp. 23—51). In vol. VII (in two parts, 1952 and 1953, 1943 pp.) *W. Ph. Coolhaas* published all the letters from many parts of Asia that had been addressed to Coen. Because of the serious dearth of annotation in the volumes edited by Colenbrander, an attempt was made to make the whole series more useful by means of extensive annotations in vol. VII. Against the lack of colour in Colenbrander's biography, as well as against those historians who had blamed Coen for having been hard and ruthless, *C. Gerretson* voiced a protest in his *Coens Eerherstel* (Rehabilitation of J. P. Coen; 1944, 110 pp.). *W. Ph. Coolhaas* attempted to formulate his impression of Coen in a study entitled *Over Karakter en Daden van J. Pzn. Coen* (Concerning Coen's character and his activities, in B.V.G. VIII, 1943/ iv, pp. 201—237, and v, pp. 60—74), partly based on *R. A. M. Bergman, J. Pzn. Coen, een psychographie* (J. Pzn. Coen) and his character, T.B.G. 73, 1933, pp. 1—56). The latter had found the formidable governor-general to have been a great schizotype (according to Kretschmer's classification), possessing, however, a greater harmony between the observation of the world outside and its assimilation than is usually observed in extreme autists. In 1934 a search was made for *Coen's grave at Batavia*, followed by a publication in 1936 (*Het graf van Jan Pietersz. Coen*, 218 pp.); this was supple-

mented by a report on *the excavations* undertaken in 1938, published in *Rapporten van de Oudheidkundige Dienst* (Reports of the Archaeological Survey, 1938; no. 1, 1939, 18 pp.).

Much less has been published on the second of the five great men mentioned above. A number of *Gegevens over Antonio van Diemen* (Data on Antonio van Diemen) were collected by *W. Ph. Coolhaas* (B.K.I. 103, 1946, pp. 469—546), who also edited *Een Indisch Verslag uit 1631, van de hand van Antonio van Diemen* (A Report on the Situation in the East Indies of 1631, compiled by A. van Diemen; B.M.H.G. 65, 1947, pp. 1—237). Perhaps this is the best place to mention *C. R. Boxer's* interesting article *Portuguese and Dutch Colonial Rivalry, 1641—1661* (in *Studia*, the Portuguese Review for Colonial History, no. 2, July 1958, p. 7—42). For further information concerning both Van Diemen en Maetsuycker (to whom no single study has been devoted) the interested reader will have to be content with the indication provided by works of a general nature. A cause which has contributed to the dearth of studies on these two men is that both made their career chiefly in the main office at Batavia, and letters of theirs apart from strictly official ones are unknown.

In this respect, *Rijckloff van Goens* is better placed, although even he has not yet had a complete biography. His brief *autobiography* was edited by *P. A. Leupe* in *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap* (Communications of the Historical Society, vol. V, part 2, 1857, pp. 28—49). In *Rijckloff Volckertsz. van Goens, de carrière van een diplomaat, 1619—1655* (R. V. van Goens, the career of a diplomat, 1619—1655; 1954, pp. 248), *W. M. Ottow* describes his younger years when he made a name for himself by his actions in Djambi and as an envoy to the ruler of Mataram; the publication of his journeys into the interior of Java has been mentioned above (p. 15). *J. Aalbers* makes him known to us as a general in Ceylon and in southern India in his *Rijcklof van Goens, Commissaris en Veldoverste der V.O.C. en zijn arbeidsveld...* (R. van Goens, Commissioner and General of the V.O.C. and his field of activity...; 1916, 220 pp.). However, there does not exist a detailed study concerning the last twentyfour years of his life, which include both his governorship of Ceylon and the period of his governor-generalship. A complete biography of the jovial *Cornelis Jansz. Speelman* appeared in 1936, written by *F. W. Stapel* (220 pp.).

The remark has already been made that much less was written on the colonial history of the 18th century than about that of the preceding period; the same applies to the governors-general of that time. *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl* described *Het Ontslag en het opontbod van den gouverneur-generaal Mr. Diderik Durven op 9 October 1731* (The dismissal and recall of the governor-general D. Durven on 9 October 1731, in B.K.I. 73, 1917, pp. 178—218); the man had been guilty of malversations, and although in this respect he was not alone, his insolence probably surpassed that of the others. The biography of the only Frenchman to become governor-general under the V.O.C., Abraham Patras (11 March 1735—2 May 1737), was compiled in French by *Edmond Maignien*, *Abraham Patras, gouverneur-général des Indes Néerlandaises et sa famille* (1892). Best known among the 18th century governors-general was *Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff* (1743—1750), a German Junker, who did his best to fight the many abuses rampant in the Company, but who made many enemies owing to his lack of tact. His life was described by *N. J. Krom* (1941, 170 pp.), whilst his *Consideratiën* (Considerations), i.e. the programme for reform of the Company he submitted to the board of the Company before being appointed, were published by *J. E. Heeres* in B.K.I. 66, 1912, pp. 441—621. His *correspondence with Jacob Boreel*, a member of the Amsterdam oligarchy, was edited by *H. van Malsen* (B.M.H.G. 50, 1929, pp. 321—426), who also dealt with this governor-general in his collections of essays *Vederwolken* (1926, 180 pp. in a paper entitled *Een zonderlinge landvoogd*, A strange governor, pp. 151—180), and *Waterland* (1929, 258 pp.). The life and activities of Van Imhoff's successor, Jacob Mossel (1750—1761) have as yet been insufficiently studied; it was during his tenure of office that the increased power of England and France led to great changes in the western part of the area covered by the Company's charter. In an essay, entitled *Zijn de Gouverneurs-Generaal Van Imhoff en Mossel juist beoordeeld?* (Have the governors-general Van Imhoff and Mossel been judged correctly?, in B.K.I. 114, 1958, pp. 29—54), *W. Ph. Coolhaas* has attempted to define their attitude towards this increasing French and British influence in India.

In 1788 *A. Huysers* wrote *Het Leeven van* (The Life of) *Reinier de Klerk Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië* (1777—1780).

### 3. OTHER PERSONS

Biographies of other persons may also be mentioned here. A case in point is Jan van Riebeeck, the first commander at the Cape of Good Hope. *E. C. Godée Molsbergen* even described his life twice: *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika Jan van Riebeeck, 1618—1677* (The founder of Dutch South Africa, J. van Riebeeck, 1618—1677; 1912, 297 pp.) and *Jan van Riebeeck en zijn tijd* (J. van Riebeeck and his time; 1937, 173 pp.). In 1936 the South-African *C. Louis Leipoldt* published in English *Jan van Riebeeck, A Biographical Study* (292 pp.). The *Daghregister* (Daily Record) which Van Riebeeck kept, is of great interest; an earlier edition is rather poor, but in 1952—1958 it has been excellently edited in three volumes, both in English and in Dutch, by *D. B. Bosman* and *H. B. Thom*. On the occasion of the tercentenary of Capetown in 1952 a curious book appeared on *Van Riebeeck, zijn voor- en nageslacht* (Van Riebeeck, his ancestors and his descendants; 333 pp.). At present there are about two thousand descendants of Van Riebeeck, although not one of these bears his name. The present and most numerous generation, the tenth (there exist already scions of the thirteenth!), counts among its members Englishmen, Americans, Canadians and Frenchmen. It is striking to observe the high intellectual and social level which has been maintained by most of the descendants. The latter does certainly not apply to all those persons who are descended either legally or through adoption from Willem Vincent Helvetius van Riemsdijk (1752—1818) a Councillor of the Netherlands East Indies and son of a governor-general. This man left his large estates on Java to his six sons, three daughters, one granddaughter and five adopted children stipulating that only descendants in the fourth generation were to be allowed to divide the property after all those of the older generations had died. That was not the case until about 1933 and to this circumstance we owe the work on: *De Bekende Landheer van Tjampea W. V. Helvetius van Riemsdijk* (The Landlord of Champea W. V. Helvetius van Riemsdijk) by *P. R. Feith* and *P. C. Bloys van Treslong Prins* (574 pp.). This genealogical study is also of interest to sociologists, as all the heirs are mentioned in the book and it is striking what great social differences there are between them. This is the place to mention the fact that a genealogical-

heraldic periodical *De Indische Navorscher* (The East Indies Investigator) was published in Batavia from 1934 to 1941 under the editorship of *Bloys van Treslong Prins* and others. There is also a strong genealogical trend in *W. Wijnaendts van Resandt's De Gezaghebbers der V.O.C. op hare Buiten-Comptoiren in Azië* (The Heads of the V.O.C. branches outside the Indian Archipelago, 1944, 316 pp.). In this book one finds short biographies of the men at the head of the most important Company Offices outside the Indian Archipelago.

Probably more interesting are the studies devoted to Georg Everhard Rumphius (1628—1702), a German who went out in the Company's service as a merchant, was stationed on Amboyna and, who, when he showed himself to be a great naturalist, was released from service there on an adequate salary to devote himself to his study. Rumphius, who was in correspondence with the greatest scholars of his day, continued his work on the island even after he became blind. His *Het Amboinsche Kruid-boek, Herbarium Amboinense* (Amboynese Herb book; 1741—1750, 6 vols.) and his *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (Amboynese natural curiosities, 1705; also 1711 in Latin: *Thesaurus imaginum piscium, testaceorum* etc.) are still of great value to scholars. The most important work on him is *P. A. Leupe, Georgius Everardus Rumphius, Ambonsch Natuurkundige der 17e eeuw* (G. E. Rumphius, Amboyna's naturalist in the 17th Century, 1871, 63 pp.). In 1902 a *Rumphius Gedenkboek, 1702—1902* (Rumphius Memorial Volume) was published (221 pp.) containing 14 contributions, some of which were written in German, and including an important Rumphius bibliography. *G. Ballintijn's Rumphius, de blinde ziener van Ambon* (The blind prophet of Amboyna, 1944, 192 pp.) was written for the general public. *J. R. Callenbach* described the life of one of the earliest preachers, *Justus Heurnius* (1897, 368 pp.). In *Hendrik Janssen, een zeventiende-eeuwsche Groninger in Indië* (Hendrik Janssen, a Seventeenth Century Groningen man in the East Indies, I. G. VIII, 1896, p. 101—128), *J. E. Heeres* gives a short biography of a merchant in the service of the Company at the beginning of the 17th century. *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl* in *Govert Cnoll* gives that of an officer of a century later (T.v.G. 33, 1918, p. 129—142, 161—182, 225—247).

## E. REGIONAL STUDIES

### 1. THE MOLUCCAS, AMBOYNA AND BANDA

If we now turn to the works on the history of the Dutch in certain parts of the Company's territory, the Spice Islands, the islands between Celebes and New Guinea must be mentioned in the first place. Three groups may be distinguished: the northern (the Moluccas, formed by four sultanates, of which two, Ternate and Tidore were well to the fore,<sup>8</sup> the southern (Amboyna and the surrounding islands, politically little developed and largely under Ternatan influence), and the eastern (Banda). Certain islands of these first two groups produced the cloves, principally Makéan in the Moluccas, the land of their origin, and Ceram, in the Amboynese region, to which the Ternatans brought their culture. With the nutmeg and mace of the third group they were the main products (if we exclude pepper for a moment) the Dutch sought for on their journeys to South and East Asia. The third group in the southeast consisted of the very small Banda islands. When the Dutch arrived in the Spice Islands they were welcomed warmly by the Prince of Ternate, who needed their help against the Portuguese (after 1605 the Spaniards) which was why he gave them contracts whereby they were granted the sole buying rights of the spices. His subjects did not keep to this very closely and this frequently disturbed the friendly relations; the last — very bloody — armed conflict was ended in 1656, after which the cultivation of cloves was concentrated on the part of the island of Amboyna which was directly under the Company. This history was already described during the time of the Company, by *Livinus Bor* in his *Amboinse Oorlogen* (Amboynese wars, 1663, 400 pp.), a work in which the behaviour of the Dutch was glorified in a pompous, quasi Tacitan style. Of much greater importance is *De Ambonse Historie* (Amboynese History) by *Rumphius*, for the blind scholar was also active in this field. The work, which goes as far as 1662, was published in 1910 (in the B.K.I. 64, two vols., 327

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<sup>8</sup> Since the beginning of the 19th century the word Moluccas has been used for the three groups collectively, which causes a great deal of confusion in the literature. There is even a Republic of the South Moluccas in opposition to the Republic of Indonesia. In reality it embraces part of the Amboynese islands.

and 162 pp.); unfortunately this edition is very slipshod, bristling with errors both in interpretation and in printing, and without any annotation. Valentijn, relying to a great extent on Bor and Rumphius, also deals with this history in detail in his great work. In the *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap* (XXVII, 1871, p. 348—494) one finds a *Grondig verhaal van Amboyna* (Thorough report on Amboyna, 1621) by the 17th century governor *Aert Gijsels*. In the 19th century the behaviour of the Dutch was severely censured by the liberal historians, *M. Dassen*, *De Nederlanders in de Molukken* (The Dutch in the Moluccas, 1848, 218 pp.) and the German *H. Bokemeyer*, *Die Molukken* (Germ., 1888). The recent study by *J. Keuning*, *Ambonnezen, Portugezen en Nederlanders* (Amboynese, Portuguese and Dutch, Ind. 9, 1956, p. 135—169) is of particular importance for the light it sheds on Amboynese society.

An incident which took place on Amboyna in 1623 caused quite a stir. The Dutch Governor, Van Speult, had heard that the English settlers on the island wanted to try to take possession of the island with the help of the Japanese soldiers in the service of the Dutch. After a lawsuit during which, according to the prevailing law, use was made of torture, most of the English and Japanese were sentenced to death. The English spoke (and even now still speak) of the Amboynese murder; this contributed to the deterioration of mutual appreciation between the English and the Dutch in the 17th century; whenever a war with the Dutch broke out, 1652—1654, 1665—1667, 1672—1674, the English repeatedly made use of this "murder" to foster anti-Dutch feelings; even in the war against the South African Republics in 1899 it was again produced as a means of propaganda. English data on this subject fill a large part of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series East Indies, China and Japan 1622—1624*. The last Dutch works on this subject were by *F. W. Stapel*, *De Ambonsche "Moord"* (The Amboynese "Murder", T.B.G. LXII, 1923, p. 209—226) and by *W. Ph. Coolhaas*: *Aanteekeningen en Opmerkingen over den zoogenaamden Ambonschen Moord* (Notes and Remarks on the so-called Amboynese Murder, B.K.I. 101, 1942, p. 49—93). Both come to the conclusion that this is indeed a case of a lawsuit being dealt with according to the rules with no deviation from the acts and regulations; never-

theless, in view of the consequences, Van Speult would have been wiser to have left the trial to the central authorities at Batavia; the fact that he tried the case at Amboyna can however be explained by the circumstances there: he wanted to prove to the inhabitants of the island that he would brook no attack on the Dutch citadel.

We lost sight for a moment of Banda, which was inhabited by a population organised in village republics. They, too, called in the Dutch as helpers against enemies and in return gave them a monopoly contract; they, too, did not keep to it and during a discussion murdered a Dutch admiral and his entire, unarmed, following. So in 1621 Coen took up arms against them; the population was either killed or fled elsewhere; the small archipelago was then populated by Dutchmen, who worked the nutmegplantations, the so-called "perken" (parks), with slaves from various parts of Asia. *J. A. van der Chijs* severely censured the action of the Dutch in his *De Vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag over de Banda-eilanden 1599—1621* (The Establishment of Dutch Power on the Banda Islands 1599—1621, 1886, 184 pp.); *L. Kiers* tried to defend it on juridical grounds, to my mind not altogether convincingly, in his *Coen op Banda, de Conqueste getoetst aan het recht van den tijd* (Coen on Banda, the Conquest tested by the law of that time, 1943, 352 pp.). *V. I. van de Wall* describes the life of the Dutch colonists on Banda in his *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Perkeniers, 1621—1671* (Contribution to the History of the nutmeg-planters, 1621—1671, T.B.G. 74, 1934, p. 516—580), whereas *N. P. van den Berg* goes into a shorter period in his *Vijf Jaren op Banda, 1633—1638* (Five Years on Banda, 1633—1638 in his book, *Uit de Dagen der Compagnie*, 1904, p. 1—29). In 1868 was published a report by *R. de Klerk*, *J. E. van Mijlendonk* and *W. A. Alting*, drawn up during the years when the Company were beginning to fear English competition again in the Spice Islands ( $\pm$  1761), in defence of their rights on the islands: *Rapport over 's Compagnies Regt op de Groote-Oost* (Report on the Company's Right to the "Great East", in the *Verhandelingen van het Bat. Gen.*, Proceedings of the Batavian Society, vol. XXXIII). *V. I. van de Wall's De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken* (Dutch Antiquities in the Moluccas, sic!, 1928, 313 pp.) beautifully produced, with plates and maps, concerns all the Spice Islands. It is



to be regretted that this survey of the Company's buildings, epitaphs etc. can only be consulted with due caution owing to the carelessness of the author.

## 2. NEW GUINEA

Dealings with New Guinea were the task of the Dutch governor of the Moluccas at Ternate as far as the north coast was concerned, and that of his colleague on Banda for the south coast. As the Company wanted on the one hand to oppose any contact of European foreigners with the enormous island, and on the other hand fought shy of the expense of regular control of this non-productive territory, it was glad to make use of the relations the sultan of Tidore had with the rulers of the so-called Papuan Islands (i.e. the islands between Halmaheira and New Guinea) which in their turn had contact with New Guinea, where they obtained Papuan slaves for him. The Company therefore granted that sultan certain rights under her supervision, but also certain obligations with regard to New Guinea. It is on these grounds that the present Indonesian Republic lays claim to the western half of the land which is in fact not inhabited by Indonesians. *A. Haga* gives a detailed account, based on a thorough investigation of the archives, of *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden ± 1500—1883* (Dutch New Guinea and the Papuan Islands ± 1500—1883, 1884, two volumes, 471 + 496 pp.). All later historical studies are based on this book. For the history of its exploration one should consult the very detailed work by *A. Wichmann: Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea* (History of the Discovery of New Guinea, two volumes in three parts, 1909—1912, Germ.), which deals with all voyages thither up to 1902 with bibliographical references. *K. W. Galis* gives a historical survey of Dutch New Guinea in volume I of the recent handbook *Nieuw-Guinea* (New Guinea, three volumes, 1953—1954).

## 3. AUSTRALIA

Connected with the voyages to New Guinea were those to Australia, the continent first seen by the Dutchman Willem Jansz. (beginning of 1606) and the coast of which was also to a great extent discovered by Dutchmen. The most important documents relating to these discoveries

were published in Dutch and in English by J. E. Heeres in his *The Part borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia, 1606—1765* (1899, 106 pp.). P. A. Leupe had already dealt with the subject earlier in his *De Reizen der Nederlanders naar het Zuidland of Nieuw-Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (The journeys of Dutchmen to the South Land or New Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries, 1868, 217 pp.). Tasman's map was published by F. C. Wieder (*Tasman's kaart van zijn Australische ontdekkingen, 1644, "De Bonaparte-kaart"*, 1942). For the general public F. W. Stapel wrote his *De Oostindische Compagnie en Australië* (The East Indies Company and Australia, 1937, 159 pp.).

#### 4. CELEBES

South Celebes lay on the route of the Dutch from Batavia to Amboyna. Quite early on they had an office there, which was closed for the reasons explained by J. W. IJzerman in his *Het schip "De Eendracht" voor Makassar in December 1616* (The ship "Eendracht" off Macassar in December 1616, B.K.I. 78, 1922, p. 343—372). The ruler of Macassar or of Gowa did not forbid his subjects to take spices from the area of the Company's monopoly on the Spice Islands; in this way he made his capital a centre of trade for English, Danes and Portuguese, but as a result, of course, he made enemies of the Dutch. W. E. van Dam van Isselt in *Mr. Johan van Dam en zijne tuchtiging van Makassar in 1660* (Mr. Johan van Dam and his punishment of Macassar in 1660, B.K.I. 60, 1908, p. 1—44) describes an attempt to make him change his mind. F. W. Stapel in his *Het Bongaaïs Verdrag* (The Bongai Treaty, 1922, 247 pp.) tells how in 1667 with the help of the Bugis people who were being oppressed by the Macassarese, Cornelis Speelman succeeded in bringing South Celebes under Dutch supremacy. An *Inventaris van de Nederlandsche Oudheden in Zuid-Celebes* (Inventory of Dutch antiquities in South Celebes) by V. I. van de Wall can be found in the "Oudheidkundig Verslag" (Archaeological Report) of 1929 (p. 83—128).

The Dutch were always on good terms with the population of Minahassa, the most northern part of Celebes, who were quickly becoming Christian. On the occasion of the commemoration of the treaty of friendship made in 1678 E. C. Godée Molsbergen wrote *Geschiedenis van de Minahassa tot 1829* (History of Minahassa up to 1829, 1928,

211 pp.), a book based on the examination of archives but badly composed and written in an uninteresting style. Very interesting on the other hand is the *Journal van de Reis van den Gouverneur van Ternate Padtbrugge in 1677 naar Noord-Celebes* (Journal of the voyage of Padtbrugge Governor of Ternate to North Celebes in 1677, B.K.I. 14, 1867, p. 105—340) edited by *P. A. Leupe*.

#### 5. BORNEO

On Borneo the Company had in the first place contact with the most southern kingdom, that of Banjarmasin, with a view to the pepper trade, although relations were repeatedly broken because the Dutch were murdered. The older relations are well described, as are those with other parts of the island, by *L. C. D. van Dijk* in his *Neêrland's vroegste betrekkingen met Borneo, den Solo-archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochîn-China* (Earliest relations between the Netherlands and Borneo, the Solo Archipelago, Camboja, Siam and Cochîn-China, 1862, 363 pp.). For the other areas mentioned in the title of this book it is out-of-date. For the period 1707—1747 one may consult *Radical Beschrijving van Banjermassing* (Radical description of Banjarmasin) by *J. A. van Hohendorff*, dating from 1757, (B.K.I. 8, 1861, p. 151—216). *J. C. Noorlander* deals with the later relations with Banjarmasin in *Bandjarmasin en de Compagnie in de Tweede Helft der 18de Eeuw* (Banjermasin and the Company in the second half of the 18th century, 1935, 196 pp.). The second volume of *C. Bock's Reis in Oost- en Zuid-Borneo* (Journey through East and South Borneo, 1887, 71 pp.) gives a survey of Dutch relations with East Borneo and the sultanate of Kutei by *P. J. B. C. Robidé van der Aa*.

#### 6. SUMATRA

The Company had relations with various parts of Sumatra above all with a view to obtaining pepper, which grew in Menangkabau, the mountainous district in the centre. The pepper was either taken from there to the west coast, where the ruler of the kingdom of Achin (situated on the north west point of the island) had brought the chieftains under his power, or to the east coast, to the kingdoms of Jambi and Palembang. *J. W. J. Wellan* described *Onze eerste vestiging*

in *Djambi* (The first establishment of the Company in Jambi in 1615, B.K.I. 82, 1926, p. 339—383). *W. Ph. Coolhaas* also gives something on this subject in *Oud Nieuws uit Djambi* (Old News from Jambi, in the commemoration volume Bingkisan Budi, 1950, p. 71—93). It is *J. W. J. Wellan* again who described *De Loge te Djambi in het jaar 1707* (The office at Jambi in 1707, B.K.I. 83, 1927, p. 446—458). For Palembang *P. de Roo de la Faille's Uit den Palembangschen Sultanstijd* (In the days of the Palembang sultanate, Jubilee Volume of the Batavian Society, II, 1929, p. 316—353) can be mentioned. About 1615 the Dutch also obtained contact with the westcoast; in the first years the ruler of Achin allowed them to trade there. When in the middle of the 17th century relations with him became bad they helped the Menangkabau chiefs in their revolt against him, as a result of which, established at Padang, they came to be at the head of an alliance of numerous chiefs. *W. J. A. de Leeuw* studied the formation of that alliance in his work: *Het Painansch Contract* (The Painan Contract, 1926, 95 pp.), *H. Kroeskamp* the most important period of later relations in his *De Westkust en Minangkabau 1665—1668* (The West coast and Menangkabau, 1665—1668, 1931, 166 pp.). *E. Netscher* described in his *Padang in het laatste der XVIIIde eeuw* (Padang in the latter part of the XVIIIth century, 1881, 122 pp.) how English and French competition began to threaten Dutch supremacy. The same author also wrote an important work on the contacts with the kingdom of Johore, which embraced those parts of the old kingdom of Malacca which in 1511 were not conquered by the Portuguese: the southern point of the Malay Peninsula, the islands between that peninsula and Sumatra and a part of the latter, later forming the kingdom of Siak: *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak*, (The Dutch in Johore and Siak, 1870, 329 + XCIII pp.). *J. W. J. Wellan* dealt with the contact with the southern point of the large island in his study *Onze eerste aanrakingen met Lampoeng* (Our first contacts with Lampung, T.B.G. 77, 1937, p. 141—177).

## 7. JAVA

Naturally, much more has been written about the relations with Java than about those with Sumatra. It was in Java that the Company had

its base, Batavia, founded by Coen in 1619 on the ruins of Jakatra, which he had conquered, and which lay in the eastern part of the more westernly of the two large kingdoms on Java, viz. Bantam. The capital city of the same name was the principal destination of the Europeans coming to the Archipelago, because not only was it a large pepper market, but also the port to which spices from the Far East came to the market. The other and much larger kingdom, Mataram, extended over practically all East and Central Java and also over part of West Java; the old-fashioned capital lay in the interior and had a character entirely different from that of cosmopolitan Bantam. *P. J. Veth* in Volume II of his large work on *Java* (1878, 703 pp.) described the history of the island, devoting much attention to the history of the Javanese people. For the pre-Dutch period, which does not concern us here, the work is absolutely out-of-date, as is also the second edition (1896—1907) adapted by *J. F. Snelleman* and *J. F. Niermeyer*. The book which should have replaced Veth's work, *C. Lekkerkerker's Land en Volk van Java* (Country and People of Java, 1938), gives a dry enumeration of facts. The book must be considered a failure; it did not go beyond the first volume. On the other hand it is a pity that Mrs. *W. Fruin-Mees* did not find an opportunity to continue her excellent *Geschiedenis van Java* (History of Java; Volume II, *De Mohammedaansche Rijken tot de bevestiging van de macht der Compagnie*, The Mohammedan Kingdoms until the consolidation of the power of the Company, 1920, 127 pp., deals with the beginning of the colonial period) beyond 1629. *M. L. van Deventer* concerned himself particularly with the *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders op Java* (History of the Dutch on Java, 1886/87, 2 volumes, 328 and 330 pp.); the American *C. Day* with *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (Eng., 1904, 434 pp.; a Dutch translation by *H. D. H. Bosboom* dates from 1905, 484 pp.).

Under the title *Cornelis Buijsero te Bantam, 1616—1618* (Cornelis Buijsero at Bantam, 1616—1618, 1923, 272 pp.) *J. W. IJzerman* published the letters of a servant of the Company which give a clear picture of relations in the town where at that time the Dutch had their head office. In T.B.G. 64, 1924, p. 207—226 Mrs. *W. Fruin-Mees* wrote an article on *Een Bantamsch Gezantschap naar Engeland in 1682* (A Bantam Embassy to England in 1682) whereby Bantam hoped

to ward off the threatened Dutch domination. *V. I. van de Wall* gives the *Bouwgeschiedenis van het fort Speelwijk te Bantam* (History of the building of fort Speelwijk at Bantam, in *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Archaeological Report, 1928, p. 137—157) erected shortly afterwards (1684) by the Dutch to command that town. A turbulent period in the history of the relations with Bantam, caused by the awkward politics of the governor-general Van Imhoff was described by *P. J. B. C. Robidé van der Aa: De Groote Bantamsche Opstand van 1750* (The great Bantam Revolt of 1750, B.K.I. 29, 1881, p. 1—127).

Much more numerous are the studies on the contact with Mataram. Here also we find Mrs. *Fruin-Mees*, dealing with the first journeys to the capital of that country in her articles *Waarom Batavia en Mataram van 1629 tot 1646 geen vrede hebben gesloten* (Why Batavia and Mataram did not make peace between 1629 and 1646, T.B.G. 66, p. 156—204), *Pieter Franssen's Journaal van zijn reis naar Mataram in 1630* (Pieter Franssen's Journal of his journey to Mataram in 1630, *ibid.*, p. 395—422) and *Winrick Kieft en zijn Rapport over zijn Gezantschap naar Mataram in 1655* (Winrick Kieft and his Embassy to Mataram in 1655, T.B.G. 72, p. 391—399). *H. J. de Graaf* made a study of a critical moment in the relations between the Company and Mataram; the ruler of the kingdom had been put on the throne by the Dutch in spite of the opposition of many of his subjects; but in this way he became dependent on the western foreigners and had to accept a Dutch bodyguard. As a reaction to this in 1686 a Dutch commander and his troops were murdered near the capital. The originality of de Graaf's book *De Moord op Kapitein François Tack* (The Murder of Captain François Tack, 1935, 170 pp.) lies above all in the fact that for his study he also made use of Javanese sources, principally chronicles. De Graaf, who is now lecturer at the University of Leiden, has since published a large number of articles on 16th and 17th century Javanese history, particularly in B.K.I. and T.B.G. which are not mentioned here, however, as this is a bibliographical survey of Dutch colonial history and not of Javanese history. Volume I of B.K.I. (1853, p. 291—440) gives the *Dagboek van de reis van Van Imhoff over Java in 1746* (Journal of Van Imhoff's journey across Java in 1746); volume XI (1863, p. 227—259) that of the journey of this governor-general through West Java. Partly as a

result of his awkward behaviour a serious crisis arose in which the Dutch were only able to maintain their authority with very great difficulty and which ended in the division of the Mataram kingdom among three claimants to the throne, of whom the sunan (the emperor) of Surakarta and the sultan of Jogjakarta acquired the larger parts; *P. J. F. Loww's De Derde Javaansche Successie-oorlog, 1746—1755* (The third Javanese war of succession, 1746—1755, 1889, 145 pp.) treats this subject. Episodes in earlier wars of succession were studied by *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, De vermoording van den Regent van Soemenep, 1707* (The murder of the Regent of Sumenep, 1707, B.K.I. 72, 1916, p. 555—589), *De onderwerping van Pangeran Adipati Anoem aan de Hooge Regeering, 1708* (The submission of Pangeran Adipati Anum, the Crown Prince, to the Dutch Government, 1708, B.K.I. 78, 1922, p. 385—402) and *De Zwerftocht van Sultan Pakoeboewana II, . . . , 1742* (the peregrination of Sultan Pakubuwana II, . . . , 1742, B.K.I. 74, 1918, p. 562—614). The memorandum, drawn up in 1765 by the retiring Dutch Governor at Semarang, *Van Ossenberch*, has been printed in *Berigten Historisch Genootschap* (V, 2nd part, 1857, pp. 178—203).

When Coen had conquered and destroyed the town of Jakatra in 1619 and laid the foundations of Batavia, he proclaimed the annexation of a territory reaching to the south coast of Java, which was as yet quite unknown to him, and which, because Jakatra had been the seat of a fairly independent vassal of the ruler of Bantam, he assumed to have been a "kingdom of Jakatra". In actual fact that hinterland of Batavia, the mountainous part of which was known as Priangan or the Preanger Regencies, only gradually came into Dutch hands during the course of the 17th century. One of the most detailed and best monographs Dutch colonial history has at its disposal was written on that district. *F. de Haan* for many years carefully examined the government archives for anything that could be found on that district during the time of the Company. A work in four volumes was the result: *Priangan, de Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811* (Priangan, the Preanger Regencies under Dutch rule up to 1811). This work is not only of importance for the district concerned; anyone who is interested in the Company's history should possess this book on Priangan, because of the great quantity of material it contains.

Volume I (1910) gives a survey of the history of Priangan (496 pp.) and detailed biographical data concerning all those who were of any importance in it (354 pp.). Volume II (1911, 906 pp.) contains fifty appendices, reproductions of the most important documents from the archives, together with 23 "excursen" (digressions) in which special subjects are dealt with which are as diverse as "het gevoel voor Indisch Natuurschoon" (appreciation of the natural beauty of the East Indies) and "het baden in de Oost" (bathing in the East) or "Portugeesche woorden in het Compagnies-Hollandsch" (Portuguese words in Company Dutch). Volume 3 and 4 (1912, 988 and 1040 pp.), under the motto taken from Valentijn: "Deze visch werd meest tot cieraad gebruikt en is als een zeldzaamheid bewaard; dog is, hoewel hij ook wel gegeten werd, tot spijsze de beste niet" (This fish is usually used for decoration and is kept as a rarity; but although it is sometimes eaten, is not one of the best for food) give a very detailed commentary on the survey in Volume I, together with XXXII lists and tables. De Haan, when keeper of the records at Batavia, always tried to keep visitors out of the archives so that he could devote all his attention to his beloved Priangan; he maintained that he had squeezed all the records for that district like lemons so that there was not a drop left for others to extract. Nevertheless, another important study did appear on this subject, viz. *J. W. de Klein, Het Preangerstelsel, 1677—1871 en zijn naverking* (The Preanger system, 1677—1871 and its after-effects, 1931, 138 pp.). This author deals with the operation of the tax in coffee imposed on the population by the V.O.C. which in 1830 was extended to large areas of Java under the name culture-system. Both books were preceded by *J. Faes' Geschiedenis van Buitenzorg* (History of Buitenzorg, now Bogor, 1902, 437 pp.) a Priangan village which in the 19th century became the seat of the Governor-General. This author also wrote *Geschiedenis Particulier Landbezit op West-Java* (History of the private estates in West Java, 1893, 287 pp.).

The town of Batavia, which since 1950 has been known by a slightly variant form of its old name: Jakarta, attracted great attention from colonial historians. *J. A. van der Chijs in De Nederlanders te Jakatra* (The Dutch at Jakatra, 1860, 264 pp.) described the coming of the Dutch in 1600 and the fall of the town in 1619. On the occasion of



the tercentenary of Batavia *F. de Haan* wrote a detailed memorial volume *Oud-Batavia* (Old Batavia, two vol. 1922, 559 + 408 pp. together with a very beautiful volume of plates). This book, like Priangan, is entirely based on official records. It is, however, intended for the general reader and has no notes or references. De Haan's lively style and caustic humour make it amusing reading but occasionally, it seemed to me, the author was not altogether able to control his inclination to ridicule; then he makes remarks which are not entirely confirmed by the records. In *Het Voormalige Batavia* (Former Batavia, 1954, 163 pp.), an attractive little book with many maps, *H. A. Breuning* describes how the town developed. *H. D. H. Bosboom* wrote on *Oude Woningen in de stad Batavia* (Old dwellings in the town of Batavia, T.B.G. 40, 1898, p. 542—570) and on *Teekeningen van het oude Batavia* (Drawings of Old Batavia, *ibid.* 44, 1901, pp. 137—214 and 45, 1902, pp. 193—256). *H. J. de Graaf* on the *Gezichten op Oud-Batavia vanuit zee* (Views of Old Batavia from the sea, T.B.G. 69, 1929, p. 237—253), while *P. J. Willekes Macdonald* dealt with the history of the houses in a part of the town dating from the 18th century, *Batavia's Bovenstad, Het Zuiderdeel van Molenvliet West* (The southern part of Molenvliet West, T.B.G. 77, 1937, pp. 1—102). Beautifully illustrated are *V. I. van de Wall's Indische Landhuizen en hun Geschiedenis* (East Indies country houses and their history, 1932, 123 pp.) and even more so, the picture-book *Johannes Rach en zijn werk* (Johannes Rach and his work, 1928, 141 pp. ed. by Mrs. *J. de Loos-Haaxman*) published on the occasion of the jubilee of the Batavian Society, founded in 1778. Rach was an eighteenth century artist, who managed to record the appearance of the town in a large number of drawings, if not artistically, at least clearly. Short periods in the history of the town also had their historians: *J. W. IJzerman* dealt very thoroughly with *De Belegering van het* (Nederlandsche) *fort Jacatra* (The siege of the (Dutch) fort of Jacatra, 22 Dec. 1618—1 Feb. 1619, B.K.I. 73, 1917, pp. 558—679), a section of early history; while *N. P. van den Berg* discussed *Een Smeekschrift van de Bataviasche Burgerij, 1648* (A petition from the citizens of Batavia, 1648) in which more freedom of trade was urged for the citizens, and also *De Suikerindustrie op Java onder het bestuur van de V.O.C.* (The Sugar Industry on Java under the V.O.C.,

both in his book *Uit de Dagen der Compagnie*, In the days of the Company, 1904, p. 30—63 and 305—349 respectively). The article by L. W. G. de Roo on a lawsuit against a few low-class people of mixed blood, who in 1721 were supposed to have tried to hand the town over to the Javanese, *De Conspiratie van 1721* (The Conspiracy of 1721, T.B.G. 15, 1866, p. 362—397) is of particular importance, because the records of this mysterious affair, which has never been completely cleared up, have since been lost. B. Hoetink is a specialist in a very exclusive field, viz. the chiefs appointed by the Company over the Chinese inhabitants of the town. One article (B.K.I. 78, 1922, p. 1—136) is concerned with these Chinese “officers” in a general way, two others (B.K.I. 73, 1917, p. 344—415 and 79, 1923, p. 1—44) with the first of these, Coen’s friend *So Bing Kong*. He also describes the life of *Ni Hoekong* (B.K.I. 74, 1918, p. 447—518) who was “Captain” in 1740, when a large part of the Chinese population of Batavia, partly as a result of the unwise action of the Government, was murdered by the European mob, their houses being plundered and burned. This event, which developed into a war throughout nearly the whole of Java, was dealt with in detail by J. Th. Vermeulen: *De Chineezzen te Batavia en de troebelen van 1740* (The Chinese at Batavia and the disturbances of 1740, 1938, 160 pp.).

The history of the second town on Java, Surabaya, attracted much less attention. G. H. von Faber described it in three works intended for the general public. The weakness of these works will be obvious to historians without further comment. The second volume, that dealing with the period under discussion, is entitled *Oud Soerabaia* (Old Surabaya, 1931, 422 pp.).

#### 8. JAPAN

It is a well-known fact that from 1640 to 1854 the Dutch were the only Europeans allowed to stay in Japan, viz. on the small artificial island of Deshima in the bay of Nagasaki, and even they were subjected to great restrictions. Everything known in Europe about Japan prior to 1854 came from Dutch sources, and so did Japanese knowledge of Europe. François Caron, who in 1638 became head of the Dutch office in Japan, published in 1648 (78 pp.) a *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninck-*

*rijcke Japan* (reprinted by C. R. Boxer in 1935 with a biographical study of Caron in an English translation under the title *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan*). In 1669 A. Montanus published a collection of *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappy aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Memorable Embassies from the East Indies Company to the Emperors of Japan). Knowledge of Japan became more widespread when in 1729 E. Kaempfer, a German surgeon who was in the Company's service from 1690 to 1692, published his *De Beschryving van Japan* in Dutch (an English translation, *History of Japan*, 2 volumes, had already appeared in 1728). Perhaps this is the most suitable place to mention the fact that a century later it was another German physician in the service of the Dutch, Ph. Fr. von Siebold, who particularly by the serial publication of the great work *Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan usw.* (Nippon, Records for the Description of Japan, 2nd ed., 2 vol., 1897, Germ.) made this country accessible to western scholarship. It was also a German, O. Nachod, who in 1897 published a book on *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im 17en Jahrhundert* (The Relations of the V.O.C. with Japan in the 17th century, Germ.). A sequel to this book by J. Feenstra Kuiper, appeared under the title *Japan en de Buitenwereld in de 18e eeuw* (Japan and the outside world in the 18th century, 1921, 330 pp.). In this book special attention is given to cultural relations. C. C. Krieger dealt with the same subject in his *The infiltration of European Civilization in Japan during the 18th century* (Eng., 1940). C. R. Boxer's *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600—1850* (Eng. 1950, 198 pp.) "an essay on the cultural, artistic and scientific influence exercised by the Hollanders in Japan" is also a very interesting work. In *Van Vriend tot Vijand, de Betrekkingen tusschen Ned. Indië en Japan* (From Friend to Enemy, relations between the Dutch East Indies and Japan, 1945) the chapter on the history of Japan and its relations with the Dutch East Indies (p. 1—68) is by F. W. Stapel. F. Dekker wrote a booklet for the general public, *De betrekkingen tusschen de V.O.C. en Japan* (Relations between the V.O.C. and Japan, 1941, 128 pp.). E. N. van Kleffens studied *De Internationaalrechtelijke betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Japan* (International law and the relations between the Netherlands and Japan,

1919) from the beginning to the year in which this work appeared. K. Glamann discussed *The Dutch East Company's Trade in Japanese Copper, 1645—1736* (Scandinavian Economic History Review, 1952, p. 41—79). W. Ph. Coolhaas dealt with an episode in the earliest history of the Dutch in Japan, when they still had an office in Firando (Hirado), which was the case until 1641. Under the title *Een Lastig Heerschapp tegenover een Lastig Volk* (A troublesome "mijnheer" and a troublesome people, B.M.H.G. 69, 1955, p. 17—44) he deals with the awkward behaviour of Pieter Nuyts, first as the Company's envoy to Japan and later as governor of Formosa (1627—1629), when he almost brought about a breach with Japan. When in 1810 the Netherlands were incorporated into the French Empire the English took possession of practically all the remaining colonies. Every Dutch schoolchild knows that as a result of the firm action of Hendrik Doeff, the head of the Dutch office at Deshima, there alone in all the world did our flag remain flying. That is not entirely correct, for that was also the case in the Gold Coast possessions and the office at Canton, but all the same, this remarkable episode needed further investigation. W. A. Veenhoven recorded the results of his study in his interesting book *Strijd om Deshima, Een Onderzoek naar de Aanslagen van Amerikaanse, Engelse en Russische zijde op het Nederlandse Handelsmonopolie in Japan gedurende de periode 1800—1817* (Struggle for Deshima. An Investigation into the attacks by the Americans, English and Russians on the Dutch Trade monopoly in Japan during the period 1800—1817, 1950, 104 + XCVI pp.). *Herinneringen uit Japan* (Reminiscences of Japan) by Doeff appeared in 1833. Now that we have passed the limit of 1795 for Japan J. A. van der Chijs's *Neêrlands Streven tot Openstelling van Japan voor den Wereldhandel* (Dutch efforts to open up Japan to world trade, 1867, 532 pp.) can be mentioned here. He shows that since 1840 the Netherlands tried to persuade Japan to throw open the country to world trade.

## 9. CHINA

Somewhat less has been published on relations with China. Joan Nieuhof's *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche O.I.Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham* (The Embassy of the Dutch East

Indies Company to the great Tartaric Cham, 1665), can compete with the contemporary reports by the Jesuit Fathers. Nieuhof was the steward of the earliest ambassadors to Peking, De Goyer and De Keyzer (1655—1657). Nieuhof's book was followed by *O. Dapper, Gedenkwaardig Bedryf der Nederlandsche O.I.C. op de Kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina* (Memorable activity of the Dutch East Indies Company on the Coast and in the empire of Taising or Sina, 1670) in which the second embassy, that of Van Hoorn (1666—1668) is described. *W. P. Groeneveldt* undertook a series of works on the Company's relations with China in the manner of De Jonge's *Opkomst*. Unfortunately other activities prevented him from going beyond 1624, so that we only have a "first part" of his excellent *De Nederlanders in China* (The Dutch in China) with the sub-title *De Eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores, 1601—1624* (The first efforts towards establishing the China trade and the settlement in the Pescadores, 1601—1624, B.K.I. 48, 1898, 598 pp.). *J. Virseboxse* studied the third embassy, that of Paets and De Keyser, in his *Een Hollandsch Gezantschap naar China in de Zeventiende Eeuw, 1685—1687* (A Dutch embassy to China in the seventeenth century, 1685—1687, 1946, 130 pp.). More attention was paid to the last of the Company's embassies, that of Titsingh and Van Braam Houckgeest in 1794—95. *J. J. L. Duyvendak* described it in detail in his *The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court* (Eng. T'oung Pao, 34, 1938, p. 1—137, 223—227; 35, 1940, p. 329—353) while *C. R. Boxer* also gave some attention to it (in T'ien Hsia, 8, 1939, p. 9—33; Eng.) *Isaac Titsingh's Embassy to the court of Chien-lung*. Not until 1729 did the Company obtain permission to open an office in China, viz. at Canton. *Matty Vigelius* (T.v.G. 48, 1933, p. 168—179) wrote on the founding of the *Factorij te Canton* (trading factory at Canton). More important are the articles by *J. de Hullu, Over den Chinaschen handel der O.I.C. in de eerste dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw* (On the V.O.C.'s Chinese trade during the first thirty years of the 18th century, B.K.I. 73, 1917, p. 32—151) and *De Instelling van de Commissie voor 'den Handel der O.I.C. op China in 1756* (The Establishment of the Board for the V.O.C.'s trade with China in 1756, B.K.I. 79, 1923, p. 523—545). This Board eventually developed into the still existent Board of

"Pakhuismeesteren van de Thee", (Tea Warehouse-keepers) at Amsterdam. On the occasion of its centenary in 1918 it published a *Memorie Boek 1818—1918* (Memorial Volume 1818—1918, 184 pp., ed. by A. C. F. and L. L. Bierens de Haan) of which p. 23—61 refer to the time of the Company. *J. de Hullu*, in the periodical *Oud Holland* (Old Holland, 1915, 33, p. 50 et seq.) discussed *De Porceleinhandel der O.I.C. en Cornelis Pronk als haar teekenaar* (The V.O.C.'s Porcelain trade and Cornelis Pronk as its designer), so closely connected with the tea trade. *T. Volker* is the author of an interesting book on *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* (Eng. 1954, 243 p.) with the sub-title "as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary Papers 1602—1682"; a second volume, *The Japanese Porcelain Trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683* just came from the press (1959, Eng., 92 pp.). The important book by the Governor of the Company, *Nicolaes Witsen: Noord en Oost Tartarijen* (North and East Tartaria, 1704) must also be mentioned here.

#### 10. FORMOSA

From 1624 to 1662 the V.O.C. was in command at a point which was favourable both for their contacts with Japan and for those with China, i.e. Formosa. In this year its citadel Zeelandia was captured by Kok Sing A, one of the last defenders of the Ming dynasty. There is an English work on this subject: *W. Campbell, Formosa under the Dutch* (1903, 629 pp.) mainly treating missionary activities and giving translations of Valentijn (cf. p. 25) and Grothe (cf. p. 38) and a short Dutch one: *P. de Zeeuw, De Hollanders op Formosa, 1624—1662* (The Dutch on Formosa, 1624—1662, 1924, 63 pp.). The Protestant mission had good successes on Formosa. It was studied in detail by *W. A. Ginsel* in his *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa* (The Dutch-Reformed Church on Formosa, 1931, 138 pp.).

#### 11. THE PHILIPPINES

I know of only two studies on relations with the Philippines, *F. Blumentritt, Holländische Angriffe auf die Philippinen im XVI, XVII und XVIII Jahrhundert* (Dutch attacks on the Philippine

Islands in the XVI, XVII and XVIIIth centuries, *Jahresberichte Comm. Ober-Realschule in Leitmeritz*, 1880 Germ.) and *E. C. Godée Molsbergen, De Nederlandsche Expeditie naar Manilla in 1735* (The Dutch Expedition to Manilla in 1735, Jubilee Volume of the Bat. Gen. II, 1929, p. 182—195).

## 12. FURTHER INDIA

Of the works on the contact with the north of Further India those by *W. J. M. Buch* are certainly the most important. After he had published a work on *De V.O.C. en Quinam* (= Annam; The V.O.C. and Quinam, 1929, 123 pp.) for which he drew on the General Missives, and which dealt with the period 1633 to 1652, he wrote *La Compagnie des Indes Néerlandaises et l'Indochine* (The Dutch East Indies Company and Indo-China, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. XXXVI and XXXVII, 1936 and 1937, Fr.). Further, I can mention here *A. Cabaton, Les Hollandais au Cambodge au 17e siècle*, (The Dutch in Camboja in the 17th century, *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises*, p. 129—220, 1914, Fr.) and *A. J. C. Geerts, Voyage du yacht hollandais Grol du Japon au Tonkin, 1637* (Voyage of the Dutch yacht Grol from Japan to Tonkin, 1637, Fr., *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, 13, 1882, p. 5—47). In 1955 *Tonkin 1644—45, Journaal van de reis van Anthonio van Brouckhorst* (Tonkin 1644/45, Journal of the voyage of Anthonio van Brouckhorst, 112 pp.) was published by Miss *C. C. van der Plas*. *H. Terpstra* gave a sound and detailed description of *De Factorij der V.O.C. te Patani* (The V.O.C.'s Trading Station at Patani), a dependency of Siam, which was closed as early as 1621 (1938, 250 pp.). A remarkable subject was touched on by *J. W. IJzerman* in his study *Hollandsche Prenten als handelsartikel te Patani in 1602* (Dutch Prints as articles of commerce at Patani in 1602, Memorial volume Kon. Inst. 1926, p. 84—109).

Quite a lot of attention was paid to relations with Malacca, a town which was the key-point of the straits of the same name and which in 1641 was captured from the Portuguese. *P. A. Leupe* published numerous *Documents relating to its siege and capture*, *Berigten Hist. Genootschap* (Reports of the Historical Society, 1859, p. 128—428; an English translation is in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the*

Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV, part I, 1936, 178 pp.). To this J. C. Overvoorde added *Eene niet gepubliceerde Kaart van de belegering van Malaka in 1640—1641* (An unpublished Map of the siege of Malacca in 1640—1641, T.B.G. 66, 1926, p. 604—617). In J.M.B.R.A.S. (V, part I, 1927, p. 1—232) the *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca, 1678* has been published in English by M. J. Bremner. E. Netscher made a study of *Twee Belegeringen van Malakka, 1756—57 en 1784* (Two sieges of Malacca, 1756—57 and 1784, T.B.G. 13, 1864, p. 285—361) when the Dutch were barely able to hold their own against the Bugis. Brian Harrison published *Two reports of Dutch governors* in *Journal of the Malayan Branch* (vol. XXVII, 1954, part I, p. 24—34; Malacca in the 18th century). In the same review, vol. XXIX, part 3, 1956, p. 86—133, G. Irwin wrote on *Governor Couperus and the Surrender of Malacca, 1795*.

### 13. INDIA

It is of course well-known to the historian that the Dutch had their offices and strongholds in various parts of India. Various details of their establishments can be found in (Eng.) *The travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674* (Hakluyt Society, series II, vol. XCV—XCVII, 1947—1948) as well as in *Tavernier's Voyages* (Fr. 1676). In the days of the Company the Dutch contributed greatly towards the spreading of knowledge of this country. I only mention here *Daniel Havart, Op- en Ondergang van Cormandel* (Rise and Fall of Coromandel, 1693, 3 vols., together 568 pp.; H. Terpstra recently published an article on this book and its author in T.v.G. 67, 1954, p. 165—189, *Daniël Havart en zijn "Op- en Ondergang van Cormandel"*); *Philippus Baldaeus, Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende Ryken, en het machtige Eyland Ceylon* (Exact Description of Malabar and Coromandel, the kingdoms adjoining them and the powerful Island of Ceylon, 1672), which is particularly important for the coast of Malabar and for Ceylon, and *Johan van Twist, Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien. Ende in 't besonder Kort verhael... van 't Koninckrijk van Gusuratten* (General Description of India and in particular a short account of the Kingdom of Gujerat, 1648). Prior to this *Joannes*



*de Laet's De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera Commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus* (1631) appeared, of which J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee made an English translation in 1928 under the title *The Empire of the Great Mogol*. P. A. Leupe edited the *Reis van den opperkoopman Wollebrandt Geleijnsz de Jongh van Soeratte naar Agra, 1636—1637* (The chief merchant Wollebrandt Geleijnsz de Jongh's journey from Suratte to Agra, 1636—1637, T.A.G. 6, 1882, p. 58—79). The third volume of *Baldaeus'* work was published by A. J. de Jong in 1917 (LXXXV + 236 pp.) under the title *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (Idolatry of the East Indies heathens). So three of the areas where Dutch activities took place, the coast of Coromandel (the S.E. coast) that of Malabar (the S.W. coast) and Gujerat (the hinterland of Suratte in the N.W.) received sufficient attention. The fourth area the Dutch came to in India, however, Bengal, fares very badly in comparison, with only *Het Oost-Indische sacspiegeltje, 1684* (The East Indian pocket mirror, 1684, published by J. de Hullu in B.K.I. 76, 1920, p. 172—202) in which an anonymous writer shows up the corrupt practices of the Dutch personnel in that region.

H. van Rheede van Draakestein, a high servant of the Company, who was very much interested in botany and who founded marvellous gardens near Cochin, had a Latin *Hortus Malabaricus* written by the local minister *Johannes Casearius* on the botanical material he had collected on the coast of Malabar. I mention this work also because with its 1794 beautiful engravings published in 12 folio volumes between 1678 and 1703, it is one of the finest examples of Dutch printing art.

Let us now consider the most important works published later on each of the four sections of India, beginning with the one to which the Dutch came first, the coast of Coromandel. We have sufficient information about the beginning of the settlement through a work by H. Terpstra, *De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel* (The settlement of the Dutch on the coast of Coromandel, 1911, 207 pp.). At a time when Dutch colonial historians were concentrating their attention almost exclusively on the Malayan Archipelago, he was the first to point out the importance of the history of the establishments of the V.O.C. elsewhere. It is a pity that Terpstra did not continue his work to cover later periods. For the period shortly

after 1608, where Terpstra leaves off, we have *L. C. D. van Dijk's Zes Jaren uit het leven van Wemmer van Berchem* (Six years in the life of Wemmer van Berchem, 1858). This Van Berchem represented the V.O.C. on the coast from 1612 to 1615. In *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century* *W. H. Moreland* published for the Hakluyt Society in 1930 (Second series No. LXVI) a memorandum dated 1614 by Antony Schorer (p. 51—65), and a memorandum of the same year probably by Pieter Gillisz. van Ravesteyn (p. 67—86). But then we have to jump straight across to *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl's De Gouverneurs van Koromandel Christiaan van Teylingen (1761—1765) en Pieter Haksteen (1765—1771)* (The Governors of Coromandel, Christiaan van Teylingen, 1761—1765, and Pieter Haksteen, 1765—1771, in B.V.G.; V, X, p. 134—157, p. 257—277, VI, II, p. 109—123, VI, III, p. 281—300). This work gives an alarming picture of corruption and decadence. *A. Rea's Monumental Remains of the Dutch E.I. Cy. in the Presidency of Madras* (Arch. Survey of India, New. Imp. Ser. vol. XXV, 1891) must also be mentioned.

Next in age is the Dutch establishment at Surat in the west of the empire of the Great Moguls, supervising those inland at Ahmedabad and Agra, but originally also those in Persia and Arabia. To this original connection we owe *H. Terpstra's De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de V.O.C.: Surat, Arabië en Perzië* (The rise of the western districts of the V.O.C.: Surat, Arabia and Persia, 1918, 308 pp. half of which consists of records), which goes as far as about 1624. *W. H. Moreland* realised the importance of the Dutch sources for the history of the Empire of the Great Moguls, in particular for the economic history. Having studied these records he wrote his *India at the death of Akbar* (1920) and *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (1923), and together with *P. Geyl* he published in 1925 *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, a Company official at Agra, under the title *Jahangir's India*. *A. J. Bernet Kempers* described the important *Hollandsche Grafmonumenten te Surat* (Dutch sepulchral monuments at Surat, T.B.G., 78, 1938, p. 65—92). Useful work for the general public was done by *M. Wagenvoort* with his *De Hollanders in Noordelijk Voor-Indië* (The Dutch in Northern India) and *In het Voetspoor der Vaderen* (In the ancestors' footsteps, 1929). Important is the study

by P. H. Pott of a Dutchman who entered the service of a Hindustani pretender under the title *Willem Verstegen, een Raad van Indië als avonturier in India in 1659* (Willem Verstegen, a former member of the Council of the Indies, as adventurer in India in 1659, B.K.I. 112, 1956, p. 355—382).

Although the establishments in Bengal date from the middle of the 17th century, periods in their history were studied mainly for the 18th century, when they got more attention in connection with the rise of English power. *Kali Kinkar Datta* in his *The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar, 1740—1825* (Eng. 1948, 273 pp.) shows no signs of having used Dutch sources or having read Dutch authors. *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl* dealt with *De Handhaving der neutraliteit van de Nederlandsche loge te Houghly, . . . in Juni 1756* (The preservation of the neutrality of the Dutch lodge at Houghly, . . . in June 1756, B.K.I. 76, 1920, p. 258—283). As early as 1889 and 1890 *G. C. Klerk de Reus* (in I.G.) wrote on *De Expeditie naar Bengale in 1759* (The Expedition to Bengal in 1759), a lamentable attempt to withdraw the Nawab of that country from Clive's influence, and in 1875 (Verh., Proceedings, Bat. Gen., vol. XXXVIII, 52 pp.) on *De vermeestering van Chinsura in 1781 en 1795* (The capture of Chinsura by the English in 1781 and 1795); none of which are episodes which add to the glory of Dutch arms. In *The Mandarin at Chinsura* (Eng., 1949, 28 pp.) *C. R. Boxer* discusses the Bengal part of the career (1785—1792) of the same Titsingh we met earlier in China. This is perhaps the most suitable place to mention the fact that *Holden Furber's* important *John Company at Work* (Eng., 1948) contains a chapter, John Company and Jan Compagnie, in which the rivalry between the two at the end of the 18th century is dealt with.

Quite a lot has been published on the last district the Dutch came to, the coast of Malabar. This is partly a result of the fact that the Madras Government in its series *Selections from Records* paid considerable attention to Dutch Records, which just for this very coast are numerous. Between 1908 and 1911 there appeared not only (in Dutch) a number of *Memories van Overgave* (Memoirs of retiring officials) to their successors from the commanders (sometimes: governors, a higher rank) *Van Rhee* (1677, 46 pp. no. 14, the man

of the Hortus Malabaricus), *Stein van Gollenesse* (1743, 38 pp. no. 1), *Cunes* (1756, 36 pp. no. 3), *De Jong* (1761, 56 pp. no. 11), *Weijerman* (1765, 62 pp. no. 12), *Breekepot* (1769, 44 pp. no. 7), *Moens* (1781, 217 pp. no. 2) and *Van Angelbeek* (1793, 18 pp. no. 4), but also a *Dagboek der Gebeurtenissen gedurende den oorlog met den Zamorijn* (Diary of the events during the war against the Zamorin, 1716—1717, 183 pp. no. 8), a *Dag register gehouden door ... Capitain Johannes Hackert gedurende den train tegen den Koning van Trevancoor* (Journal kept by Captain Johannes Hackert during the campaign against the King of Travancore, 1739—1740, 24 pp. no. 10), *Uittreksels uit de Algemeene Transports* (Excerpts from the general transport registers, 1743, 1761 and 1780, 42 pp. no. 9), ... *Brieven gezonden van Negapatnam* (Letters sent from Negapatnam 1748—1750, 1757—1758, 207 pp. no. 15, referring to the coast of Coromandel) and a *Verhaal van den Nabab Aider Alij Chan* (Historical account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan, 1763, 31 pp. no. 5). Most of these records were copied by Rev. P. Groot S.S.J., Rev. J. Fruytier and Rev. A. J. van der Burg. A. Galletti I.C.S. provided an English translation of the most important of these reports (1911, 270 pp. no. 13), those of Stein van Gollenesse and Moens, preceded by a very useful *Introduction* dealing with the history of the Dutch settlement on the coast of Malabar. J. Aalbers studied the activities of *Rijcklof van Goens, Commissaris en Veldoverste der V.O.C. en zijn arbeidsveld, 1653/54 en 1657/58* (Rijcklof van Goens as Commissary and General of the V.O.C. and his field of activity, 1653/54 and 1657/58, viz. Ceylon and the coast of Malabar, 1916, 221 pp.). K. M. Panikkar's *Malabar and the Dutch* (1931) is of little importance. Of more importance is T. I. Poonen's *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar, 1603—1678* (1948, Eng. 303 pp.). Poonen had, however, the stroke of bad luck that his work, based on printed sources only, was already in some respects out of date when it appeared, because during the war-years a work on his subject had been published in the Netherlands based entirely on records. This was Miss M. A. P. Roelofs's important book *De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar* (The Establishment of the Dutch on the Coast of Malabar, Verh., Proceedings, K.I., vol. 4, 1943, 396 pp.). Interesting too is her article *Een Nederlander in Engelschen dienst op*

*de Voor-Indische Kust* (A Dutchman in English service on the Indian Coast, T.v.G. 57, 1942, p. 263—273). *J. Kleyntjens S.J.* published in T.B.G. 76, 1936, p. 398—457 a report written in Italian about 1680 by the Spanish priest *Don G. Carmona* on *De Godsdienstige Toestand in Voor-Indië onder Hollandsch Bestuur* (The religious situation in India under Dutch rule). The Dutch were favouring the Syrian Christians called the Thomas-Christians. *J. Notermans* published a few records on this subject (T.B.G. 76, 1936, p. 580—588), *J. Canter Vissscher* wrote *Mallabaarse Brieven* (Malabar Letters, 1743).

#### 14. CEYLON

Ceylon also attracted rather much attention. The government of that country published two series of records dating from the Dutch period, the first (1905—1915) translations by Miss *S. Pieters* afterwards Mrs *S. Anthonisz* of the *Memories van Overgave* (Memoirs of the retiring governors) *Ryclof van Goens*, Jun., 1679 (1910, 34 pp.), *Zwaardecroon*, 1697 (1911, 130 pp.), *Van Rhee*, 1697 (1915, 61 pp.), *Simons*, 1707 (1914, 35 pp.), *Becker*, 1716 (1914, 57 pp.), *Pielat*, 1734 (1905, 61 pp.), *Van Imhoff*, 1740 (1911, 86 pp.), *Mooyaart*, 1766 (1910, 14 pp.) and also the *Instructies van de Hoge Regering te Batavia, 1656—1665* (Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656—1665, 126 pp., 1908) and the *Dagboek van de reis van gouverneur De Heere naar Jafnapatam in 1697* (Diary of occurrences during the tour of Gerrit de Heere, Governor of Ceylon, from Colombo to Jaffna in 1697, 39 pp., 1914). The second series, which has been appearing since 1927, contains the *Memories* (Memoirs) by *Maetsuyker*, 1650 (1927, 68 pp. no. 1), *Ryckloff van Goens*, 1663 and 1675 (1932, 112 pp. no. 3), *Loten*, 1757 (1935, 108 pp. no. 4) and *Schreuder*, 1762 (1946, 202 pp. no. 5) translated by *E. Reimers. J. H. O. Paulusz* edited *Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council*, 1762 (Eng., 1954, 349 pp.), and *Historical Maps of Ceylon* (Eng., 1951).

For the years up to 1645 we have the sound work by *W. van Geer*, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon* (The rise of Dutch rule over Ceylon) vol. 1 (cetera desunt, 1895, 153 pp. plus 100 pp. documents). *D. W. Ferguson* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, 1904, no. 55 and 1909, no. 62, published letters between the ruler of Ceylon, Radja Sinha II

and the Dutch. The work by Aalbers, which is also of importance for Ceylon, was mentioned earlier in connection with the coast of Malabar. For the period 1658—1796 there is a survey in *P. E. Pieris' Ceylon and the Hollanders* (Eng., 1918); the earlier volume, *Ceylon, The Portuguese Era . . . , 1505—1658* (Eng., 2 vols, 1913/14) is also worthy of mention. Recently two young Ceylonese historians wrote books on the Dutch activities in their island. *Sinnappah Arasaratnam* succeeded better with his *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658—1687* (Eng., 1958, 246 pp.) than *K. W. Goonewardena* with his *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1638—1658* (Eng., 1958, 196 pp.). Both made a thorough study of the Rijksarchief sources, but Arasaratnam is freer from national prejudice. *R. Boudens O.M.I.* shows in his *The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule* (1957, Eng., 266 pp.), that the Catholic faith only survived by using Asian missionaries, who knew how to escape unrecognised by the Dutch. In *T.v.G.* 71, 1958, p. 26—50 *H. Terpstra* treats *Compagnies-onderwijs op Ceilon* (Education under the Company on Ceylon). *A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl* published a detailed article on *Gustaaf Willem baron van Imhoff als Gouverneur van Ceylon, 1736—1740* (Van Imhoff as Governor of Ceylon, 1736—1740, *B.K.I.* 75, 1919, p. 481—625). In *Het Verdrag van 1766 tusschen de V.O.C. en den Vorst van Kandi* (The Treaty of 1766 between the V.O.C. and the Ruler of Kandi, 1927, 93 pp.) *W. Zwier* dealt with the solution of a conflict during the last days of the Dutch on the island, which was very advantageous for the latter; in *Hoe Nederland Ceilon verloor* (How the Netherlands lost Ceylon, 1908, 167 pp.) *G. Nypels* dealt with the way in which they had to give way to the English here in 1795. Finally we must mention *F. H. de Vos's Monumental Remains of the Dutch E.I.C. in Ceylon* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, 1898—1910).

## 15. PERSIA

Because little was known of the relations between the V.O.C. and Persia, it was decided to devote some volumes of the R.G.P. to this subject. But *H. Dunlop* conceived the publication *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der V.O.C. in Perzië* (Sources for the history of the E.I.C. in Persia) on too large a scale; for the period 1611—1638 alone he needed a first volume of XCVII + 850 pp. (1930); further public-

ation was suspended. There is one more important publication in this field; *A. Hotz* published the very interesting *Journal der Reis van den Gezant der V.O.C. Joan Cunaeus naar Perzië in 1651—1652* (Journal of the Journey of the V.O.C.'s ambassador, Joan Cunaeus, to Persia in 1651—1652, Works Historical Society, 3rd Series, no. 26, 1908, CXV + 466 pp.) kept by the later gov.-gen. Speelman. Among other things Speelman has an excellent description of Persepolis, which he visited. Hotz also published the *Scheepsjournaal Gamron-Basra van Cornelis Roobacker* (Journal of a voyage Gamron-Basra kept by Cornelis Roobacker, 1645, T.A.G. 24, 1907, p. 289—405).

#### 16. ETHIOPIA

The V.O.C.'s unsuccessful attempt to obtain contact with Ethiopia is like a farce. It was described by *E. Littmann* in *Iets over de Betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Abessinië in de 17e eeuw* (Some notes on the relations between the Netherlands and Abyssinia in the 17th century, B.K.I. 54, 1902, p. 477—500) and by *C. Wessels S.J.*, in *Vriendschapsbetrekkingen tusschen Abessinië en de V.O.C. in de 17e eeuw* (Friendly relations between Abyssinia and the E.I.C. in the 17th century, in the periodical *Studiën*, 1928).

#### 17. MAURITIUS

The fact that Mauritius (so called after the stadholder Prince Maurits) was only occupied by the French after the Dutch had left it at the beginning of the 18th century is of course well known to historians, but it is perhaps not known that *Prince Roland Bonaparte's* *Le Premier Établissement des Néerlandais à Maurice* (The first Establishment of the Dutch on Mauritius, Fr. 1890) has been superseded by *K. Heeringa's* detailed series of articles based on a thorough study of the source material: *De Nederlanders op Mauritius en Madagaskar* (The Dutch on Mauritius and Madagascar, I.G. 17, I and II, 1895). *F. W. Stapel* wrote in B.K.I. (86, 1930, p. 615—635) on one of the most curious of the Dutch commanders there: *Hubert Hugo*, a former pirate. François Leguat's famous journey to this area (1690—1698) falls in the Dutch period. The best edition is that by *P. Oliver* for the Hakluyt Society, *The Voyage of François Leguat of Bresse to Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java*

and the Cape of Good Hope (Eng., 2 vols., 1891, LXXXVIII + 433 pp.). Miss I. H. van Eeghen in her *De Reisbeschrijving van François Leguat* (François Leguat's Travels) in the periodical *Het Boek*, 30, 1949, p. 227—246, in particular, but also H. Kroeskamp in his *Du Quesne's poging tot Huguenotkolonisatie en de reis van Leguat, 1689—1697* (Du Quesne's attempt at Huguenot colonisation and the journey of Leguat, T.v.G. 65, 1952, p. 272—300) were to a great extent successful in solving the mysteries of this journey and its description by means of fortunate discoveries among the records.

#### 18. SOUTH AFRICA

On South Africa, the only country overseas where Dutch colonists contributed to an important degree towards the formation of the present white population, so that their language, their law, their (protestant) church organisation play a prominent part, there is such a wealth of literature that a separate work would be necessary to enumerate it. The reader is advised to consult the bibliographies in the most important works; from the English side: Vol. VIII, *South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates* (1936, 1005 pp.) of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*; from the South African side: S. F. N. Gie, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* (History of South Africa, 2 vols. 1924—1928) and *De Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* (The History of South Africa) under the editorship of A. J. H. van der Walt, J. A. Wiid and A. L. Geyer (1951, 2 vols.). But I should like to mention also a further number of works in which the emphasis falls on the colonial-historical aspect of South African history. Miss A. J. Böeseke is publishing the *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad* (Resolutions of the Council of the Governor); two volumes already appeared (1953, XIII + 425 pp., 1959, XVI + 363 pp.), going as far as 1680. The Van Riebeeck Society, the sister society of the Hakluyt and Linschoten Societies, published numerous descriptions of journeys in the Cape country during the Dutch period.

H. T. Colenbrander's *De Afkomst der Boeren* (The Descent of the Boers, 1902, 127 pp.) is a remarkable little book which shows by means of ingenious calculations that in 1808, the year in which the flow of British elements began, 50½ %, 27 % and 17½ % of the white population of South Africa was of Dutch, German and



French origin respectively. The fact that the French percentage is so high is due to the arrival in 1687 of a group of married Huguenots who for generations were very prolific. But Colenbrander says that the "moral" descent is more important than the "material" one, and that in this respect the descent of the Afrikaner people at the Cape was Dutch to an even higher degree. The French immigrants became Dutch after a few generations, the Germans, who were usually unmarried and arrived a few at a time, almost immediately.

For the development of the church one should consult S. P. Engelbrecht's *Die Kaapse Predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu* (The Cape Preachers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 1952, 100 pp.) and his earlier work *Geschiedenis van de Nederduits Hervormde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika* (History of the Netherlands Reformed Church in South Africa, 2 vols., 1920, 1925) as well as C. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederduitsche-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika* (Materials for the history of the Dutch Church in South-Africa, 2 vols, 1906—1907); for the legal system, A. Wijkema, *Die invloed van Nederland en Nederlands-Indië op ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Regswese in Suid-Afrika tot 1881* (The influence of the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies on the origin and development of the legal system in South Africa up to 1881, 1934, 214 pp.) and a similar work by the same author, *De invloed van Nederland op ontstaan en ontwikkeling van de staatsinstellingen der Z.A. Republiek tot 1881* (The influence on the origin and development of the state institutions of the South African Republic up to 1881 (1939, XI, 537 pp.); for the language G. G. Kloeke, *Herkomst en Groei van het Afrikaans* (Origin and Growth of Afrikaans, 1950). A. J. Böeseke described the influence of the high V.O.C. authorities, who inspected the Cape country on their way to Batavia in two works: *Nederlandsche Commissarissen aan de Kaap, 1657—1700* (Dutch inspectors at the Cape, 1657—1700, 1938, 169 pp.) and *Die Nederlandse Kommissarisse en die 18de eeuse samelewing aan die Kaap* (The Dutch inspectors and 18th century society at the Cape, Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, VII, 1944). A. Hulshof published the *Journaal van Van Reede tot Drakestein* (Journal of Van Reede tot Drakestein, B.M.H.G. 62, 1941, p. 1—245), one of

the most able of those inspectors who stayed there in 1685.

The economic interests of colonists, who of course wanted to make the highest prices possible for their agricultural produce, were directly opposed to those of the Company, who wanted to keep them low with a view to supplying their passing ships. One of the first conflicts on this point broke out during the governorship of Van der Stel, who himself acted as a big farmer and thereby added to the colonists' difficulties. *L. Fouché* deals with this conflict from the African point of view (1914) in his edition of *Het Dagboek van Adam Tas, 1705—1706* (The diary of Adam Tas, 1705—1706) one of the colonists concerned; he blames Van der Stel in the first place; in his *Het Ontslag van Wilhem Adriaen van der Stel* (The dismissal of Wilhem Adriaen van der Stel, 1928, 107 pp.) the Dutchman *F. C. Dominicus* sees the man more as a victim; the Company system was to blame. Although this conflict ended with the recall of Van der Stel, it broke out again later in the century when the colonists, who had meanwhile moved to the east as cattle farmers, had learnt to stand on their own feet. *P. J. van der Merwe* deals with the origin of the African nation as a result of this migration in his *Die noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek, 1770—1842* (The movement of the Boers northwards before the Great Trek, 1770—1842, 1937, 400 pp.) and particularly in *Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie, 1657—1842* (The migrating farmer in the history of Cape colony, 1657—1842, 1938). A somewhat earlier period is described by *F. C. Dominicus* in his *Het Huiselik en maatschappelik leven van de Zuid-Afrikaner in de 1e helft der 18de eeuw* (The home and social life of the South Africans during the first half of the 18th century, 1919, 109 pp.). In *Die Kaapse Patriotte, 1779—1791* (The Cape patriots, 1779—1791, 1929, 260 pp.), *C. Beyers* studied the legal opposition to the Company at the capital, while *P. A. C. Wieringa* in *De Oudste Boeren-Republieken Graaff-Reinet en Zwelldam van 1775 tot 1806* (The Oldest Boer Republics Graaff-Reinet and Zwelldam, 1775—1806, 1921, 117 pp.) showed how the eastern districts no longer recognised the Company but clung to the sovereignty of the Dutch States General, even against the English when they invaded the Cape country in 1795. The economic background can be studied in *A. L. Geyer's Das wirtschaftliche System der Nieder-*

*ländischen Ostindischen Kompanie am Kap der Guten Hoffnung, 1785—1795* (Germ., The economic system of the V.O.C. in the Cape districts, 1785—1795, 1923, 113 pp.). The dangers which threatened Cape Colony from abroad towards the end of the 18th century were discussed by P. J. Idenburg in his *De Kaap de Goede Hoop gedurende de laatste jaren van het Nederlandsch Bewind* (The Cape of Good Hope during the last years of Dutch rule, 1946, 111 pp.). Important documents of one of the last Dutch governors were printed in BMHG, 15, 1894, p. 180—256 by H. C. Vos Leibbrandt and J. E. Heeres under the title *Memorien van den gouverneur Van de Graaff over de Gebeurtenissen aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1780—1806* (Records from governor Van de Graaff concerning the events at the Cape of Good Hope, 1780—1806).

In 1795 Cape Colony fell into British hands, but the Peace of Amiens gave it back to the Netherlands. The Director-General who was then sent out, J. A. de Mist, was active with very great success particularly in the field of legislation, during the period 1803—1806, until the Cape went back to the British. J. P. van der Merwe describes this period in his *Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek, 1803—1806* (The Cape under the Batavian Republic, 1803—1806, 1926, 384 pp.). Some of the provisions then laid down continued to hold good in the later republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State. They are to be found in G. W. Eybers, *Bepalingen en Instructiën voor het Bestuur van de Buitendistricten van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1805* (Regulations and Instructions for the government of the outer districts of the Cape of Good Hope, 1805, Works Historical Society, 3rd series, no. 45, 1922, 178 pp.), others in the much more comprehensive six-volume *Kaapse Plakkaatboek, 1652—1806* (Cape Book of Edicts, 1652—1806, 1944—1951), published by K. M. Jeffreys and S. D. Naudé, of which the last and largest volume is entirely devoted to the period 1803 to 1806.

In 1814 there is no longer any question of the British giving back this important point on the sea route to India; in the pact made concerning the return of other colonies to the Netherlands, however, financial conditions are included which gave rise to the legend in England that the Netherlands had sold the Cape. Although J. E. Heeres in his article *De Afstand der Kaap de Goede Hoop aan Engeland in 1814* (The Surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to England in 1814, Hande-

lingen en Meded. v. d. Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden 1896/1897, p. 32 et seq.) made it quite clear that there was no question of a sale, it was still necessary in 1932 for *H. Muller* in a brochure *Has the Cape Colony been sold?* (15 pp.) to point out the accuracy of Heeres' statements to the British public. Finally, if an excellent summary of the history of *Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (South Africa during the Dutch period) is required the reader is referred to *P. J. van Winter's* article in the work *Nederlanders over de Zeeën* (The Dutch overseas) edited by *H. J. de Graaf* (1955, p. 227—252).

For later relations between the Netherlands and South Africa the reader is referred to the article by *J. W. Pont*, *De Betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Zuid-Afrika, 1806—1931* (Relations between the Netherlands and South Africa, 1806—1931) in the collection *Nederland-Zuid-Afrika* (1931, p. 63—127). *P. J. van Winter's* *Onder Krugers Hollanders* (Among Kruger's Dutch, 2 vols, 1937—38, 289 + 377 pp.) deals in detail with one of the most important manifestations of Dutch industry there, viz. the Dutch-South African railway company.

#### 19. DELAGOA BAY

Furthermore, it must be mentioned that the short-lived and unfortunate Dutch colony on Delagoa Bay also found its historians: *M. L. van Deventer*, *La Hollande et la Baie-Delagoa* (Fr., The Netherlands and the Delagoa Bay, 1883), written to refute the Portuguese claims to that bay at the time of the Mac Mahon arbitration (1875—76) and in our own time: *C. G. Coetzee*, *Die Kompanjie se besetting van Delagoabaai* (The Company's occupation of Delagoa Bay, Argiefjaarboek XI, Part II, 1948, p. 171—276).

## V. THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AFTER 1795

### A. INTRODUCTION

When in 1795 the Netherlands came under French influence and the Stadholder went to England, this meant for Asia and South Africa that all the Dutch stations outside the East Indies Archipelago were lost, some at once for good (Ceylon), some at once and until 1802 and then again after the outbreak of war with England in 1803 and then for good (Cape Colony), some in this way until 1814 and then in March 1824 — the date of the concluding of the so-called Treaty of London — for good (the remaining possessions on the continent of India and Further India). What is of importance for the history of those lost possessions after 1795 has to a great extent already been mentioned; I can therefore concentrate more or less on what until 1950 was called The Netherlands East Indies. Because their colonial activities since 1795 were limited to the Malayan Archipelago, the concern of the Dutch with various parts of it increased greatly; they wanted to round off the territory, although for remote and economically unpromising districts this was not until after 1900.

A second great change was that the Batavian Republic which came into being in 1795 destroyed the monopoly of the V.O.C. in 1798 and took over its possessions and debts. This meant that since then it was the state which was in direct contact with the country, known since that time as the Batavian and later the Netherlands East Indies. In the years of "democracy", first from 1798 to 1810, then after 1848 (or if one wishes, 1840, when the States General obtained at least some control over the King's administration) more and more Dutchmen had to acquire more than a superficial knowledge of the problems of the East Indies. That of course advanced historical research; a work like De Jonge's *Opkomst*, discussed above, is inconceivable without this background. But this also produced some disadvantages, particularly as far as the historical works

on the 19th and 20th centuries are concerned. They were not untouched by the political conflict between the conservatives and liberals in the States General between 1850 and 1870. This was mainly about the Culture System, a system introduced in 1830 whereby the population (at least of parts of Java) was forced to give up part of its land and energy for the cultivation of products for the world market, which were sold by the government in Amsterdam: coffee and sugar in the first place. If originally the profits made in this way were intended to be used partly for the benefit of the population over and above the small amount they were paid directly on delivery of the products, in practice first the king's military opposition to the liberation of Belgium (1830—1839), then the building of railways, canals etc. in the Netherlands were paid for out of the very considerable sums acquired in this way. Yet the system brought a certain amount of economic progress to Java. Although it was originally universally considered as an excellent way of "managing" overseas possessions, the liberals gradually came to oppose it; on the one hand they wished to give the population certainty of possession and free labour, thereby continuing to build on what the English governor, Raffles, had begun on Java between 1811 and 1816, and on the other hand to leave the cultivation of commercial crops, which had proved so profitable, to the individual employers. Gradually the words of praise gave way more and more to words of censure; in the political conflict the Culture System was attacked more and more fiercely, the censure also finding its way into general and educational publications after the liberal victory of about 1870. Whereas the Culture System had been enormously praised twenty years earlier, now it was condemned in an exaggerated way; and not only the Culture System itself but also what preceded it during the period 1795 to 1830 was involved: all colonial rulers of that period were judged according to their supposed liberal or non-liberal attitude. This unfortunate point of view of course also occurred in foreign literature, albeit with a certain time-lag, so that this is now still in the period of abuse. *J. W. B. Money* has nothing but praise for the system in his *Java, or how to manage a colony*, dating from 1861. On the other hand, *K. M. Panikkar* in his *Asia and Western Dominance* (1953, 530 pp.) sees nothing good in it. The fact that there has been a reaction to the

condemnation in later years escaped him. This reaction also sometimes took on a fierce form. Thus in 1938 the Utrecht Professor, *C. Gerretson*, in his historical introduction to the collection: *De sociaal-economische invloed van Ned. Indië op Nederland* (The social-economic influence of the Netherlands East Indies on the Netherlands, 1938, p. 19) called the Culture System "the greatest benefit the Netherlands has ever conferred on the East Indies". In 1925 a more objective, non-political study of the conservative and liberal governments of the 19th century began; all this will be dealt with more fully below.

After about 1920, and to a greater extent after 1945, a new bone of contention took the place of the old one: the rise of Indonesian nationalism and the liberation of the Archipelago politically. I do not know of any work among the many written on these subjects which achieves a degree of objectivity satisfactory to the scholar. They were subjects which greatly disturbed those sections of the Dutch population that had the well-being of "The Netherlands East Indies" at heart, as much as they did the Indonesians. I consider that even now no Dutchman and no Indonesian is in a position to form a purely scholarly opinion on these matters, and still less — for different reasons — a foreigner. The action of the Dutch with regard to nationalistic aspirations is either praised or censured according to the political views of the authors of works already published, frequently not historians but journalists, sociologists, politicians; sentiment or dogma to a great extent govern the so-called historical output. This sometimes leads to an exaggerated value being attached to official reports and officially inspired works; sometimes, on the other hand, these are merely regarded as disguised propaganda. As sources of information the "handelingen" (transactions) of the Volksraad (People's Council), the representative body which came into being after 1918, partly by election, are to the fore. This body, which, as the heads of departments were not responsible to it, never needed to take over the task of government, was practically always destructive in its criticism. Then there is the press, the Indonesian half of which sought to write as much ill as possible of the Dutch government, with true or untrue data, only limited by the fear of being brought before the judge for slander or for inciting to hatred. A third source is the publications etc. of the political parties which, insofar

as they took a non-co-operative stand, remained outside the Volksraad.

This short introduction should precede the discussion of the main works on the period 1795—1950. It must be borne in mind, however, that works which partly deal with an earlier period have for the most part already been mentioned and will not be referred to again.

## B. THE EAST INDIES UNDER THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC AND THE KINGDOM OF HOLLAND (1795—1811)

Even before the Batavian Republic came into being in 1795 under French influence — in fact ever since the V.O.C. as the result of the war with England from 1780 to 1784 had no longer been able to meet its financial obligations — there had been a body of opinion in favour of winding the Company up or at least drastically reorganising it. That is why *G. J. A. van Berckel* lets his work *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Europeesch Opperbestuur over Nederlandsch-Indië* (Contribution to the history of the European Government of the Dutch East Indies, 1880, 215 pp.) cover the period 1780—1806. After 1795 the man who aims at new things in colonial affairs, who wants to break the monopoly of the Company and who wishes for economic freedom is *Dirk van Hogendorp*. As a servant of the Company he comes into conflict in Java with conservative opponents who were at the same time his employers. He manages to escape from them by fleeing the island, drawing attention to himself in the Netherlands by his writings, the most important of which was *Berigt van den tegenwoordigen Toestand der Bataafsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indiën en den handel op dezelve* (Report on the present situation of the Batavian Possessions in the East Indies and their trade, 1799), a work which even now should not go unread by those interested in these matters. Later there are also writings in further defence of his plans, namely *Stukken, raakende den tegenwoordigen Toestand der Bataafsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indiën en den handel op dezelve; Aanmerkingen op het Adres van Participanten (in de gewezene) Ned. O.I. Maatschappij* and *Nadere Uitlegging en Ontwikkeling van het stelsel van Dirk van Hogendorp* (Documents on the present situation of the Batavian Possessions in the East Indies and



their trade, 1801; Comments on the Address of Shareholders in the former Netherlands East Indies Company, 1802; Dirk van Hogendorp's system explained and elaborated, 1802). In 1801 he goes on a committee which has as its task the drawing up of the constitution of the Batavian Indies in such a way that the East Indies Community shall be restored to "its former prosperity". He does not gain the support of the majority of this committee, however. He then goes to Russia as an ambassador and later on becomes such a great admirer of Napoleon that he not only remains loyal to the emperor until 1814 (although the Netherlands had regained its freedom at the end of 1813) but also took his side again immediately when he returned from Elba. During the Hundred Days he was the imperial governor of Nantes. So there is no longer room for him in his native land, and he ends up as a coffee planter in Brazil, where he, the man with so much experience, still has some influence as adviser to the emperor Dom Pedro. Dirk's *Mémoires* were published by his grandson *Comte D. C. A. van Hogendorp* (1887, 416 pp.) in French. A good biography, *Dirk van Hogendorp 1761—1822*, was written by *J. A. Sillem* (1890, 374 pp.). Very interesting are also the letters, mainly in French, which he wrote from Java between 1783 and 1796 to his brother Gijsbert Karel, the man who in 1813 contributed most to the revolt against the French in the Netherlands. They were published with some appendices by Mrs. *E. du Perron-De Roos* under the title *Correspondentie van Dirk van Hogendorp met zijn broeder Gijsbert Karel* (Correspondence between Dirk van Hogendorp and his brother Gijsbert Karel, B.K.I. 102, 1943, p. 125—273).

In *Van Indië onder de Compagnie tot Indië onder de Staat* (From the East Indies under the Company to the East Indies under the State, 1948, 149 pp.) *L. Les* discusses this transition by the constitution of 1798. Data on *De Koloniale Politiek onder den Raadpensionaris R. J. Schimmelpenninck* (The colonial policy of R. J. Schimmelpenninck), who from 1805 to 1806 was at the head of the Batavian Republic with the title of Grand Pensionary, can be found in B.K.I. 12, (1864, p. 377—481) with an introduction by *D. W. Schiff. F. de Haan* writes on the rather "tame" *Jacobijnen te Batavia* (Jacobins at Batavia, T.B.G. 41, 1899, p. 103—190) with the sense of humour which is characteristic of him. *N. P. van den Berg* deals with more or less the

same subject under the title *De Bataviasche Decemberbeweging van 1795* (The Batavian December movement of 1795) in his book *Uit de Dagen der Compagnie* (1904, p. 256—304). In that volume one also finds a description by him of *Een Conflict tusschen de Regeering en den Raad van Justitie des Kasteels Batavia, 1795* (A Conflict between the Government and the Council of Justice of the Batavian Castle, 1795, p. 212—255), which broke out just before the occupation of the Netherlands by the French became known in Batavia. We are given information on the principal attempts to defend the possessions outside Java against the English by J. E. Heeres in his *Eene Engelsche Lezing omtrent de verovering van Banda en Amboyna in 1796 en . . .* (An English version of the conquest of Banda and Amboyna in 1796 and . . ., B.K.I. 60, 1908, p. 249—368), by P. A. Leupe in *De Verdediging van Ternate onder den Gouverneur J. G. Budach, 1796—1799* (The defence of Ternate by Governor J. G. Budach, 1796—1799, B.K.I. 12, 1864, p. 262—363) and in *Stukken betreffende de verdediging van Ternate door den Gouverneur W. J. Cranssen, 1800—1801* (Documents relating to the defence of Ternate by the Governor W. J. Cranssen, 1800—1801, B.K.I. 17, 1870, p. 215—338). Leupe also described the *Overname van Ternate van de Engelschen in 1803* (The taking over of Ternate from the English in 1803, B.K.I. 27, 1879, p. 202—223). How, when war broke out once more in 1804, Amboyna was lost again was dealt with by W. Ph. Coolhaas in *De Overgave van Amboyna in 1810 en de executie van Kolonel Filz* (The surrender of Amboyna in 1810 and the execution of Colonel Filz, B.V.G. VIII, III, 1941, p. 55—94). That execution was the work of Daendels, Marshal of Holland, who was sent to Batavia by King Louis Napoleon in 1806 as governor-general mainly to see to the defence of Java. The rule of this strong and hard-handed governor-general was described by the Belgian author O. J. A. Collet in *L'île de Java sous la domination française* (1910, 558 pp.). My only objection is to the title of this book; Daendels was in office from the beginning of 1808 until the middle of 1811, whereas the annexation of the kingdom of Holland by the French Empire was not known in Batavia until February 1811. A Dutch work on Daendels' period of office also has its merits. This is a treatise by D. J. baron Mackay (later, in Scotland, Lord Reay), *De handhaving van het*

*Europeesch Gezag en de Hervorming van het Regtswezen onder het bestuur van den G.G. Mr. H. W. Daendels, 1808—1811* (The preservation of European power and the reform of the system of judicature under the rule of the Governor General Mr. H. W. Daendels, 1808—1811, 1861). Daendels too became a Napoleonic general on his return to Europe, but, unlike Dirk van Hogendorp, he tried, after 1813, to obtain another office from the first king of the Netherlands. To this end he published in 1814 a *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische Bezittingen onder het bestuur van den G.G. H. W. Daendels, 1808—1811* (State of the Dutch East Indies possessions under the rule of the Governor General H. W. Daendels) in four volumes, which contain many important data not to be found elsewhere. Daendels had made himself very much hated particularly by the conservatives, two of whom, *N. Engelhard, Overzicht van den staat der N.O. bezittingen onder . . . Daendels* (Survey of the state of the Netherlands East Indies possessions under . . . Daendels) and *R. G. van Polanen, Brieven betreffende het bestuur der koloniën* (Letters concerning the management of the colonies) tried to refute his "Staat" (State) in 1816. A modern work on the man and his work on Java is very necessary.

### C. BRITISH RULE (1811—1816)

In September 1811, shortly after Daendels' departure from Java there finally followed the attack by the British, as the island had now become French. The defence was unsuccessful. An English version of the conflict is given by *W. Thorn, A Memoir of the Conquest of Java* (1816) and a Dutch version (for the German author was an officer in the service of the Dutch) in French by *B. duc de Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, Précis de la Campagne de Java en 1811* (1834). A modern work is *G. Nijpels' De Verovering van Java door de Engelschen in 1811* (The conquest of Java by the English in 1811, 1895).

A man, *Thomas Stamford Raffles*, then became lieutenant governor of Java who had great influence on the history of South East Asia, particularly in the change-over from the system of supply of produce by the population to the government, also maintained under Daendels, to a system of ground tax, the so-called landrent, and also by his

anti-Dutch activity in the Archipelago when Dutch rule was restored there in 1816, which resulted in the founding of Singapore. By *Raffles* himself, a man of wide scholarly interests, we have a most important, although naturally now very out-of-date *History of Java* (2nd ed., 2 vols, Eng., 1830), while his widow, *Lady Raffles* published a *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (Eng., 1830). Later biographies by English writers, *D. Ch. Boulger* (Eng. *The Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*, 1897) and *H. E. Egerton* (Eng. *Sir S. R. England in the Far East*, 1900) appeared during the Boer War in South Africa, thus at a time of tension as far as the descendants of the Dutch were concerned. They give a very one-sided picture of Raffles. *R. Coupland*, *Raffles of Singapore* (Eng. 1946) is more convincing. Although *C. E. Wurtzburg* in his *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (Eng. 1954, 788 pp.) certainly tried to be more impartial he did not succeed, owing to lack of knowledge of Dutch sources and literature. For Raffles' rule of Java we must therefore still fall back upon *H. D. Levyssohn Norman*, *De Britsche Heerschappij over Java en Onderhoorigheden 1811—1816* (British rule of Java and the dependencies 1811—1816, 1857, 352 pp.) a work of great merit for its day. Data concerning the British and Dutch personnel serving under Raffles are given by *F. de Haan* in *Personalia der periode van het Engelsch Bestuur over Java 1811—1816* (Personalia during the period of English rule of Java 1811—1816, B.K.I. 92, 1935, p. 477—681), while the Australian *J. Bastin* very scrupulously expounded *Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java* (Eng. 1954, 193 pp., *Verhandelingen, Proceedings, K.I.*, vol. XIV). Of importance is also his *The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra* (Eng. 1954, 163 pp.). *H. R. C. Wright* discusses the advice of Raffles' principal Dutch adviser, *H. Muntinghe*, on the landrent question in *Muntinghe's Advice to Raffles on the land question in Java*, (B.K.I. 108, Eng. 1952, p. 220—247). If Raffles was able to find favour in the eyes of the Dutch liberals on account of the introduction of the landrent, he was much more fiercely opposed by the conservatives. *J. C. Baud* accused him, on the grounds of letters written by him to the Sultan of Palembang (on Sumatra), of inciting that despot to murder the Dutch living in his country in 1811 (*Palembang in 1811 en 1812*, B.K.I. 1, 1853, p. 7—40). *C. E. Wurtzburg* opposed this in

*Raffles and the Massacre at Palembang* (Journal Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, XXII, I, 1949, p. 38—52), after which *W. Ph. Coolhaas* in *Baud on Raffles* (the same periodical, XXIV, I, 1951, p. 109—120) argued that Raffles' intention had not been proved, but that with his knowledge of the mentality of Malay rulers he ought to have realised that letters such as those written by him would undoubtedly lead such rulers to commit murder. *J. Bastin* ended the controversy in *Palembang in 1811 and 1812* (B.K.I. 109, Eng. 1953, p. 300—320 and 110, 1954, p. 64—88), where by means of fortunate discoveries of letters in England and the Netherlands he confirmed in the main the view held by Coolhaas. In another article, *De Bandjermasinsche Afschuwelijkheid* (The Banjer-masin Atrocity, B.K.I. 7, 1860, p. 1—25) *Baud* attacked Raffles for protecting a certain Hare, who had behaved in an unfavourable manner as British resident of Banjermasin 1811—1816. *P. H. van der Kemp* confirmed this view in an article *Het Afbreken van onze Betrekkingen met Bandjermasin onder Daendels en de herstelling van het Nederlandsch Gezag aldaar op den 1en Jan. 1817* (The breaking off of relations with Banjermasin under Daendels and the restoration of Dutch rule there on 1st Jan. 1817, B.K.I. 49, 1898, p. 1—168). The English view of this matter is to be found, lastly, in *C. A. Gibson-Hill, Documents relating to John Clunies Ross, Alexander Hare etc.* (Journal Mal. Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, XXV, IV—V, 1952, p. 1—306).

#### D. RESTITUTION TO THE NETHERLANDS AND FURTHER RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

How the Malayan Archipelago became Dutch again can be found set out in great detail in *P. H. van der Kemp's De Teruggave der Oost-Indische Koloniën 1814—1816* (The restitution of the East Indies colonies, 1814—1816, 1910, 445 pp.), shorter, more clearly and in a wider context, but with fewer details in *G. J. Renier's Great Britain and the Establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 1813—1815*, (Eng. 1930), particularly chapter VI, The Return of the Dutch Colonies (p. 317—339). This return by no means meant that relations between Great Britain and the Netherlands on East Indies matters were now very favourable. They were made more difficult above all, by the action

of Raffles who now as governor of Bencoolen on Sumatra, tried to extend British power on and around that island. *J. Bastin's Raffles and British Policy in the Indian Archipelago, 1811—1816* (J.M.B.R.A.S. XXVII, I, May 1954, p. 84—119) is to be consulted. He succeeded in doing so by founding the free port of Singapore. This subject also and its consequences are dealt with very fully by *P. H. van der Kemp* in his articles *De Singapoorsche Papieroorlog* (The Singapore Paper War, B.K.I. 49, 1898, p. 389—547), *De Commissiën van . . . Wolterbeek naar Malakka en Riouw 1818—1820* (Wolterbeek's commissions to Malacca and Riouw 1818—1820, B.K.I. 51, 1900, p. 1—101), *Raffles' Atjeh-overeenkomst van 1819* (Raffles' Aceh agreement, 1819, B.K.I. 51, 1900, p. 159—240), *De Stichting van Singapore, de afstand ervan met Malakka door Nederland enz.* (The founding of Singapore, its surrender together with Malacca by the Netherlands, etc., B.K.I. 54, 1902, p. 313—476), *De Geschiedenis van het Londensch Tractaat van 17 Maart 1824* (The history of the London Treaty of 17 March 1824, B.K.I. 56, 1904, p. 1—244) and particularly *Mr. C. T. Elout als Minister van Koloniën enz.* (C. T. Elout as Minister for the Colonies etc., B.K.I. 62, 1909, p. 1—475) which also touches on other subjects. The main points at issue as the result of Raffles' action were solved by the treaty of 17 March 1824 concluded in London, and mentioned in one of the titles listed above. The Dutch establishments on the continent of Asia and the island of Singapore went to England, while the English ones on Sumatra passed to the Netherlands. Lower colonial officials were no longer to be free to act as Raffles had done. *The first Contest for Singapore, 1819—1824* (Eng. 1959, V.K.I., Proceedings, XXVII, 262 pp.) by the American *H. J. Marks* just came from the press. Dutch works on the treaty are: *C. M. Smulders' Geschiedenis en Verklaring van het Tractaat van 17 Maart 1824* (History of the Treaty of 17 March 1824, 1856) and *P. J. Elout van Soeterwoude's Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der onderhandelingen met Engeland 1820—1824* (Contribution to the history of the negotiations with England, 1820—1824, 1863). Light was also shed on this matter by the important *Gedenkschriften van A. R. Falck* (Memoirs of A. R. Falck), minister and diplomat, published by *H. T. Colenbrander* (R. G. P. small series, 13, 1913, 796 pp.). *Falck's Ambts-brieven*,

1802—1842 (Official Letters, 1802—1842) were published in 1878 by O. W. Hora Siccama.

*Van der Kemp* dealt with the history of the Dutch offices in India from 1800 to 1824 in his articles: *De Nederlandsche Factorijen in Voor-Indië in den aanvang der 19e eeuw* (Dutch Trading stations in India at the beginning of the 19th century, B.K.I. 53, 1901, p. 285—511), *De Teruggave der Nederlandsche Factorijen in Hindostan krachtens het Londensch tractaat van 1814* (The restitution of the Dutch Trading stations in Hindustan under the London treaty of 1814, B.K.I. 50, 1899, p. 247—283) and *De Jaren 1817—1825 der Nederlandsche Factorijen van Hindostans Oostkust* (The period from 1817 to 1825 in the Dutch Trading stations of the east coast of Hindustan, B.K.I. 74, 1918, p. 1—137) as also the acquisition of the British possessions on Sumatra in 1824 in *Bengkoelen krachtens het Londensch Tractaat van 17 Maart 1824* (Bencoolen under the London Treaty of 17 March 1824, B.K.I. 55, 1903, p. 283—320). An interesting work which deals with British attempts about 1840 to get the treaty of 1824 amended is Miss A. J. M. Goedemans' *Indië in de Branding, Een Diplomatiek Steekspel, 1840—1843* (The Indies in turmoil, a clash of diplomacy, 1840—1843, 1953, 251 pp.). Ridiculous conditions concerning Aceh, a still independent state in Sumatra, had been inserted in the treaty of 1824. On the one hand the Netherlands were held responsible for any piracy by that country, but on the other hand they were given no freedom to take action against it. The way in which the Netherlands in 1871 acquired a free hand was described by L. J. P. J. Jeekel in *Het Sumatra-Tractaat* (The Sumatra Treaty, 1881, 85 pp.). The appearance of G. Irwin's excellent *Nineteenth-Century Borneo. A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry* (Verhandelingen, Proceedings, K.I., XV, Eng. 1955, 251 pp.) with a full bibliography releases me from the obligation of going further into the older studies on the Anglo-Dutch rivalry on Borneo, particularly connected with the establishment of Brooke as the white rajah of Serawak. N. Tarling, *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, 1824—1871* (Eng., J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. XXX, Part 3, no. 179, 228 pp.) just came from the press (May 1960). A more general historical and legal work on the demarcation of the Netherlands East Indies in relation to other European powers is J. E. de Sturler's *Het Grondgebied van Ned. Oost-Indië in verband met de tractaten met*

*Spanje, Engeland en Portugal* (Dutch East Indies territory in connection with the treaties with Spain, England and Portugal, 1881, 382 pp.). *A. Heyman* studied the treaties concluded with Portugal in connection with the frontier on Timor in *De Timor-tractaten 1859 en 1893* (The Timor treaties of 1859 and 1893, 1895), *H. Fievez de Malines van Ginkel* gave us a *Overzicht van de Internationaalrechtelijke Betrekkingen van Ned. Indië, 1850—1922* (Survey of International Relations concerning the Netherlands East Indies, 1850—1922, 1924, XVI + 248 pp.).

## E. THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES IN THE STATES GENERAL

Much has been published about what was raised in the States General on the subject of the East Indies. *E. de Waal's Nederlandsch Indië in de Staten-Generaal sedert de grondwet van 1814* (The Netherlands East Indies in the States General since the constitution of 1814, 3 volumes, 1860—61, 363 + 368 + 843 pp.) gives practically everything discussed there up to 1848; the main speeches are given in their entirety. In addition one should consult the important data given in the second volume of *J. de Bosch Kemper's Geschiedenis van Nederland na 1830* (History of the Netherlands since 1830, 1874, 500 + 224 pp.). Two other works should be mentioned here which deal with certain aspects of the relations between the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies; *J. Kiers' De Bevelen des Konings* (The King's Commands, 1938, 244 pp.) in which the difficult problem of the division of the powers of King, minister and governor-general are explained historically, and *A. A. H. Stolk's Organisatie der Rijkseenheid, Koloniale Raad, Raad Overzee, Imperiale Raad* (Organization of Imperial Unity, Colonial Council, Overseas Council, Imperial Council, 1939, 313 pp.) in which the different attempts to create organizations for integrating the overseas territories into the kingdom are dealt with from the legal and the historical point of view. There is no work like that of De Waal for the period after 1848. A survey is given in the chapters on colonial politics after that year in *W. J. van Welderen baron Rengers' excellent Schets eener Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederland sedert 1849* (Sketch of a parliamentary history of the Netherlands since 1849, 1889, 93). In the fourth edition of this work, in Part IV (1955), *W. H. Vermeulen*



deals with the period 1891—1918 for the East Indies, and the period 1849—1918 for the West Indies, which is usefully supplemented by *J. A. A. H. de Beaufort's Vijftig jaren uit onze geschiedenis, 1868—1918* (Fifty years in our history, 1868—1918, 2 vols, 1928).

Some special subjects were studied in greater detail, as for example the conflict between the main conservative and liberal statesmen by *A. Alberts* in his *Baud en Thorbecke, 1847—1851* (1939, 248 pp.) and *De Staten-Generaal en het Volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1848—1918* (The States General and popular education in the Netherlands East Indies, 1848—1918, 1942, 156 pp.) by *H. J. H. Hartgerink*. *S. L. van der Wal* deals with a fierce conflict in parliamentary history on a mainly colonial matter, which transferred supremacy in government from king to parliament, in his *De Motie-Keuchenius, een koloniaal-historische studie over de jaren 1854—1866* (The Keuchenius motion, a historical study of the period from 1854 to 1866, 1934, 268 pp.). The *Parlementaire Redevoeringen* (Parliamentary speeches) by the able and very active liberal Minister for the Colonies, *I. D. Fransen van de Putte* have been published (1872—1873) and also those of his political associate, the colonial specialist in Parliament, *W. R. baron van Hoëvell* (four volumes, 1862—1865). *H. A. Idema* wanted to continue the work of Baron Rengers, particularly for Indies affairs after 1891, but produced a much more detailed book, *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië 1891—1918* (Parliamentary history of the Netherlands East Indies 1891—1918, 1924, 380 pp.). The socialist member of parliament, *H. van Kol* covered part of the same subject in his *Nederlandsch-Indië in de Staten-Generaal, 1897—1909* (The Netherlands East Indies in the States General, 1897—1909, 1911, 368 pp.).

## F. COLONIAL CONSTITUTIONS

The administration—in a wide sense—of the Netherlands East Indies was regulated by the King after 1815 in so-called *Regeringsreglementen* (colonial constitutions). In 1848 the power to make such constitutions passed to the legislature. At first the King had great difficulty in achieving a constitution which was satisfactory in all respects. Between 1815 and 1836 no less than five such constitutions were drawn up which differed from each other on quite important points. *P. J. Platteel*

studied the formation of the first, that of 1815, in his *De Grondslagen der Constitutie van Ned.-Indië, de Wording van het Regeerings reglement van 1815* (The foundation of the Constitution of the Netherlands East Indies, the origin of the colonial constitution of 1815, 1936, 235 pp.), *D. J. P. Oranje* that of 1818 in *Het Beleid der Commissie Generaal, de uitwerking der beginselen van 1815 in het R.R. van 1818* (The policy of the "Royal Commissioners", the working out of the principles of 1815 in the colonial constitution of 1818, 1936, 305 pp.), *W. Ph. Coolhaas* that of 1827 in *Het Regeerings Reglement van 1827, het werk van 1818 aan de ervaring getoetst* (The colonial constitution of 1827, the work of 1818 put to a practical test, 1936, 464 pp.) and *W. A. Knibbe* those of 1830 and 1836 in *De Vestiging der Monarchie, het conflict Elout-Van den Bosch . . . der R.R. van 1830 en 1836* (The establishment of the monarchy, the Elout-Van den Bosch conflict and the Colonial Constitutions of 1830 and 1836, 1935, 128 + 209 + L pp.). Very comprehensive is the work dealing with the formation of the colonial constitution drawn up by the Legislature in 1855, which remained in force for 70 years, viz. *L. W. C. Keuchenius' Handelingen der Regering en der Staten-Generaal betreffende het Reglement op het Beleid der Regering van Nederlandsch Indië* (Proceedings of the Government and the States General on the Colonial Constitution for the Netherlands East Indies, three volumes, 1857). In 1925 a similar law came into being. The former minister for the colonies, *S. de Graaff*, who had moved it in the States General, described its passage through Parliament in *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van de Wet op de Staatsinrichting van Ned. Indië, 1925* (Parliamentary history of the Colonial Constitution, 1925, 1938, 467 pp.).

### G. THE PERIOD 1815—1830

If we now turn to the internal history of the Netherlands East Indies we shall find the period from 1815 to 1830 to be unsettled, both as a result of the uncertainty of the government's principles and of local opposition by the Indonesian peoples. *M. L. van Deventer* wished to continue *De Jonge's Opkomst* so as to take in this period as well, with a publication of sources preceded by an extensive introduction, *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1811* (Dutch power on

Java and the dependencies since 1811), but he did not bring it further than a first volume (1891) going as far as 1820. Then *P. H. van der Kemp* made a similar attempt in which, however, he abandoned the correct principle: publication of documents preceded by a general introduction, in order to give instead sources mixed with commentary. While this was in itself a falling off, his books became still less clear because he omitted far too few side issues and was not able to compose a clear and coherent work. But his books and numerous articles will have to be consulted for this period because they give a great deal of source material not printed elsewhere. I have already mentioned some of his many articles, which are often hundreds of pages long. Others will be listed later, those relating to the period 1815—1818 have been incorporated, as far as the subject matter is concerned, in the many books by this prolific author. Because of his great prolixity he did not manage to take *De Jonge's Opkomst* any further than 1818. These books are: *Oost-Indië's Herstel in 1816* (Recovery of the East Indies in 1816, 1911, 454 pp.), *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch Bestuur in 1817, tot het vertrek der Engelschen* (The Netherlands East Indies administration in 1817, until the departure of the English, 1913, 437 pp.), *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch Bestuur in het midden van 1817* (The Netherlands East Indies administration in the middle of 1817, 1915, 415 pp.), *Java's Landelijk Stelsel 1817—1819* (Java's Rural System 1817—1819, 1916, 440 pp.), *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch Bestuur van 1817 op 1818 over de Molukken, Sumatra, Banka, Billiton en de Lampongs* (The Netherlands East Indies administration from 1817 to 1818 of the Moluccas, Sumatra, Banka, Billiton and the Lampongs, 1917, 381 pp.), *Oost-Indië's Inwendig Bestuur van 1817 op 1818* (The internal administration of the East Indies from 1817 to 1818, 1918, 352 pp.), *Oost-Indië's Geldmiddelen, Japansche en Chineesche Handel van 1817 op 1818* (The finances of the East Indies, Japanese and Chinese trade from 1817 to 1818, 1919, 354 pp.), and *Sumatra in 1818* (Sumatra in 1818, 1920, 325 pp.). Earlier, (Verh., Proceedings, Bat. Gen., 52, 1901 and 1902) *Van der Kemp* had already published the correspondence of a senior East Indies official in three volumes: *Brieven van en aan Mr. H. J. van de Graaff, 1816—1826* (Letters from and to H. J. van de Graaff, 1816—1826) with the subtitle: *Eene Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oost-Indische bestuurstoestanden onder de regeering van G. A. G. P. baron Van der Capellen*

(Contribution to the knowledge of the conditions of administration in the East Indies under the rule of G. A. G. P. baron Van der Capellen, 209 pp. for the introduction, 300 + 91 pp. for the letters, 32 pp. for an appendix). *P. J. Elout van Soeterwoude* published documents relating to his father C. T. Elout, who was General Commissioner for the taking over of the colonies from England from 1816 to 1819, and Minister for the Colonies from 1824 to 1830. These were: *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Koloniaal Beheer* (Contributions to the knowledge of colonial management, 1851), *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Koloniaal Beheer* (Contributions to the history of colonial management, 1861) and *Bijdragen betreffende Koloniale en andere aangelegenheden in den Raad van State behandeld* (Contributions concerning colonial and other affairs dealt with in the Council of State, 1874). *D. W. van Welderen Rengers*, in his *The Failure of a Liberal Colonial Policy, Netherlands East Indies 1816—1830* (Eng. 1947, 186 pp.), did not succeed in proving that this whole period of the governors-general Van der Capellen and Du Bus can be called "liberal". More important is the discussion by *S. J. Ottow* of Van der Capellen's colonisation plans, which were inspired by Muntinghe (mentioned p. 85), under the somewhat strange title: *De Oorsprong der Conservatieve Richting* (The origin of the conservative trend, 1937, 307 pp.).

The period of office of Van der Capellen's successor was described by *H. van der Wijck* in his *De Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Bezittingen onder het bestuur van ... Du Bus de Gisignies, 1826—1830* (The Netherlands East Indies possessions under the rule of ... Du Bus de Gisignies, 1826—1830, 1866, 267 pp.). The period was dominated to a great extent by the revolt which had broken out in the sultanate of Jokyakarta in Central Java. The substantial work in six volumes and one volume maps and drawings on this war, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825—1830* (The Java War of 1825—1830) by *P. J. F. Louw* (vol. I, II and III, 1894—1897—1904, 734 + 693 + 704 pp.) and *E. S. de Klerck* (vol. IV, V and VI, 1905—1908—1909, 905 + 758 + 475 pp.) gives much more than merely military history; various aspects of the history of the Dutch on Java are here dealt with fully and thoroughly. Three articles by *P. H. van der Kemp* supplement this great work, viz. *De Economische Oorzaken van den Java-Oorlog van 1825—30* (The economic causes of the Java War of 1825—30, B.K.I. 47,

1897, p. 1—48), *Dipanegara, eene geschiedkundige Hamlettype* (Dipanegara, a historical Hamlet figure, B.K.I. 46, 1896, p. 281—433) and *Brieven van den G.G. Van der Capellen over Dipanegara's Opstand* (Letters from the governor-general Van der Capellen on Dipanegara's revolt, B.K.I. 46, 1896, p. 535—607). *S. van Praag* also deals with this Dipanegara, a Javanese prince who placed himself at the head of the revolt, in *Onrust op Java* (Unrest in Java, 1947, 271 pp.).

The memoirs of a nephew of the Dirk van Hogendorp mentioned earlier, who accompanied Du Bus as secretary, published by *H. Count van Hogendorp* under the title *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1825—1830*, (Willem van Hogendorp in the Netherlands East Indies, 1825—1830, 1913, 222 pp.) are worth reading.

#### H. THE CULTURE SYSTEM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST IT

Then there begins in 1830 the period of the culture system. The man who planned and introduced it was the governor-general Johannes van den Bosch. Whereas *J. J. Westendorp Boerma*, in a work published in 1927: *Johannes van den Bosch als sociaal hervormer* (Johannes van den Bosch as a social reformer) dealt with his early years and showed him as a soldier with a strong social feeling, the same author gave a short but attractive biography of this interesting figure in *Een Geestdriftig Nederlander: Johannes van den Bosch* (An enthusiastic Dutchman: Johannes van den Bosch, 1950, 197 pp.). *Van den Bosch's* report on his activities as governor-general, *Verslag mijner verrichtingen in Indië, gedurende de jaren 1830, 1831, 1832 en 1833* (Report on my operations in the East Indies during the years 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833), were printed in B.K.I. 11, 1863, p. 295—481. *Westendorp Boerma* also published the correspondence between Van den Bosch, first in the East Indies and later, after his return to the Netherlands, as Minister for the Colonies, with the man who succeeded him as governor-general: *J. C. Baud* (1833—1836) who has already been mentioned several times. This publication is a work of two volumes, *Briefwisseling tussen J. van den Bosch en J. C. Baud, 1829—1832 en 1834—1836* (Correspondence between J. van den Bosch and J. C. Baud, 1829—1832 and 1834—1836, 1956, 224 + 273 pp.). An edition by *C. Gerretson* and *W. Ph. Coolhaas*

of Van den Bosch's correspondence with Baud's successor, De Eerens (1836—1840), is to follow in 1961. Smaller in size is the *Briefwisseling van Mr. R. G. van Polanen, 1828—1832* (Correspondence of R. G. van Polanen, 1828—1832) a friend of Van den Bosch' living in New York, published by *J. J. Westendorp Boerma* (B.M.H.G. 68, 1953, p. 89—122). A somewhat out-of-date and too long drawn out biography of the likeable personality, Baud, highly esteemed by friend and foe alike, and one of the most influential Dutch statesmen of the middle of the 19th century was written by his political associate *P. Mijer* under the title *Jean Chrétien Baud geschetst* (A sketch of Jean Chrétien Baud, 1878, 711 pp.). Quite recently *R. Reinsma* published the autobiography of the governor-general *J. J. Rochussen* (B.M.H.G., 73, 1959, p. 55—139), who ruled from 1845 to 1851.

Then there follows the long series of writings connected with the controversy about the culture system; they naturally vary in merit but are hardly ever as objective as we should wish. Very important documents are given in *D. C. Steijn Parvé's Het Koloniaal Monopolie-stelsel getoetst aan geschiedenis en staatshuishoudkunde* (The Colonial System of Monopoly tested by history and political economy, 1850) and the same man's work with an almost identical title: "... *nader toege-licht*" (... further explained, 1851), in which one finds i.a. an excellent report, signed by Du Bus, recommending a liberal agrarian policy. The author of this report was Du Bus' secretary *Willem van Hogendorp*. Many documents can also be found in the more strongly liberal work in three volumes by *S. van Deventer, Bijdragen tot de kennis van het landelijk stelsel op Java* (Contributions to the knowledge of the rural system on Java, 1865—1866). The following should also be mentioned in this connection: *G. H. van Soest's Geschiedenis van het Kultuur-stelsel* (History of the culture system, three vols, 1869—1871) which is strongly opposed to the system and the work by the able liberal economist, *N. G. Pierson, Het Kultuurstelsel* (The culture system, 1868), which was later revised and re-issued under the title *Koloniale Politiek* (Colonial policy, 1877). I shall mention further, not in any special order, many other writings for and against this system: *Bartholo's* (= *D. W. Schiff*) *De Wording van het Kultuurstelsel* (The origin of the culture system, 1863), *J. P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg's*

*Over het beheer onzer Koloniën* (On the administration of our colonies, 1862), and *Het Cultuurstelsel tegen zijne bestrijders verdedigd door een oud-koloniaal* (The culture system defended against its opponents by a former colonial official, 1868), *J. J. Hasselman's De Kultuur-procenten en het Cultuurstelsel* (The culture percentages and the culture system, 1862), *J. D. van Herwerden's Is Overgang tot vrijen-landbouw op Java, zonder slooping van het stelsel van kultuur, nu reeds mogelijk?* (Is a change over to free agriculture on Java possible now without undermining the system of culture?, 1854), *J. Kruseman's Het Stelsel van kultuur en handel voor rekening van den staat* (The system of culture and trade on the State's account, 1854), *L. Vitalis' De Invoering, werking en gebreken van het stelsel van kultures op Java* (The introduction, operation and defects of the system of cultures on Java, 1851). What then penetrates into the general historical literature after the liberal victory (1865—1870) is the slightly caricatured and destructive conception of the culture system.

If the above-mentioned works by Westendorp Boerma are successful attempts to come to a more correct conception by studying the man Van den Bosch himself, the writings by Mansvelt, to be mentioned below, are equally successful from the economic point of view. Another work appeared recently in which a successful attempt was made to come to an objective opinion: *R. Reinsma's Het Verval van het Cultuurstelsel* (The decline of the culture system, 1955, 189 pp.) in which the author tries to prove that when it was introduced in 1830 the system was very well suited to Javanese society, but that, partly as a result of its being carried through, the system had been modified to such an extent forty years later that it could no longer be maintained. The same author discussed *De Kultuurprocenten in de praktijk en in de ogen der tijdgenoten* (The 'culture percentages' in practice and as judged by contemporary opinion, T.v.G. 72, 1959, p. 57—84). If the culture system attracted the attention of politicians, economists, and intellectuals — one can probably say even more generally: of the middle classes which with their liberal ideas were influential about the middle of the 19th century — a much greater section of the Dutch population became acquainted with the needs of Java through a work by one of Holland's greatest men of letters. The government official *Eduard Douwes Dekker*

had opposed his superior's supposed condoning of the extortions practised by Javanese chiefs; he had refused to be transferred to another district and had thereupon been dismissed, at his own request. Under the name of *Multatuli* he described his experiences in a splendid novel, *Max Havelaar*, which appeared in 1860 and is still read by every Dutchman. For generations of young people this work has been and still is the main source of knowledge of the Netherlands East Indies. Multatuli was an extremely sensitive man who experienced his impressions deeply and took them seriously. He was also very touchy; this may have contributed to making him a controversial figure, even in our days. There is a vast mass of books and articles on him which cannot be mentioned here. They vary between great veneration and great abuse; it appears to be difficult to achieve a point of view in between these extremes. I shall only mention the title of two books on him, by one of his greatest admirers, the poet *E. du Perron: De Bewijzen uit het pak van Sjaalman* (The proofs in Sjaalman's parcel; Sjaalman is another pseudonym for Douwes Dekker, 1940, 132 pp.) and one by an opponent *Jhr. W. H. W. de Kock, Lebak en de Max Havelaar* (1926, 196 pp.) because they deal particularly with his career in the East Indies. *R. Nieuwenhuys'* study *De zaak van Lebak* (The Lebak case, in: *Tussen twee Vaderlanden*, 1959, p. 159—197) may be mentioned as an impartial account of the decisive episode in Multatuli's career. Multatuli was certainly no supporter of the liberal party. He expected even greater disaster from the contact between the Javanese and his European employer than from the work the culture system made him do under official direction. The conservative party therefore tried to present him as one of their supporters, certainly not entirely with reason; he was rather a forerunner of later ideas.

## I. THE REALIZATION OF LIBERALISM

Of course not all the historiography on the 19th century is concerned with the culture system alone. We have, for instance, a biography of the moderate liberal and able governor-general (1851—1856) with whom Douwes Dekker came into conflict. This is *J. Zwart's A. J. Duymaer van Twist, een historisch-liberaal staatsman, 1809—1887*



(A. J. Duymaer van Twist, a historical liberal statesman, 1809—1887, 1939, 408 pp.). *Zwart* also published *Van Twist's voorstellen aangaande de suikerkuiluur* (Van Twist's proposals concerning the cultivation of sugar, I.G. Aug.—Dec. 1938, pp. 673—690, 942—957, 1041—1054 and 1124—1153) and letters to him from friends in the Mother country (B.M.H.G. 60, 1939, p. 1—86) and his correspondence with Prince Hendrik, the King's brother, who was very interested in the economic development of the East Indies (De Gids, May 1938, p. 185—204).

There is no complete biography of the able minister Fransen van de Putte who gained the victory for the liberals between 1860 and 1870, and whose parliamentary speeches we have already mentioned, but there is an article on his years as a planter by *H. A. Idema, Fransen van de Putte op Java, 1849—1859* (Fransen van de Putte in Java, 1849—1859, De Gids, Sept. 1934, p. 294—324), which lists previous publications on the subject. New data on him were recently published by *R. Reinsma* in *Sociaal-economische Denkbeelden van Fransen van de Putte* (Social and economic ideas of Fransen van de Putte, T.v.G. 70, 1957, p. 62—75) and in *Brieven van I. D. Fransen van de Putte uit diens planterstijd* (Letters from I. D. Fransen van de Putte during his years as a planter, B.M.H.G. 71, 1957, p. 160—185). There was, however, a biographer for Van Lansberge, the Governor-General (1875—1881) under whom came one of the climaxes of the Aceh War (to be discussed presently). *M. Boon* dealt with him particularly in connection with his relations with the Ministers for the Colonies in his: *J. W. van Lansberge en de practijk van art. 4 van de Geheime Instructie van 5 Juni 1855* (J. W. van Lansberge and the practice of art. 4 of the Secret Instruction of 5 June 1855, 1943, 167 + 334 pp.). In that article the relations between the Indies Governors-General and the authorities in the Mother country were laid down.

The works of *E. de Waal* contain many details, particularly for the period 1850—1870, as for example his *De Koloniale Politiek der Grondwet en hare toepassing tot 1 Februarij 1862* (The Colonial Policy of the constitution and its application up to 1 February 1862, 1863), the twelve little volumes: *Aanteekeningen over Koloniale Onderwerpen* (Notes on colonial subjects, 1865—1868), even more so the ten volumes of *Onze Indische Financien* (Our Indies finances, 1876—1907).

*L. Margadant* dealt with the advisory board of the Governor-General in his work: *De Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië in verband met het Vraagstuk der Reorganisatie van het Indisch Bestuur gedurende de jaren 1854—1893* (The Council of the Netherlands East Indies in connection with the question of the reorganisation of the Indies government during the period 1854—1893, 1935, 82 pp.), *D. J. M. Kleymans* studied the early history of the Municipal and District Councils in the Netherlands East Indies from 1856—1897 under the strange title *Het Trojaanse Paard* (The Trojan Horse, 1948, 180 pp.). An official *Geschiedkundige Nota over de Algemeene Secretarie* (Historical note on the Secretariate, 1894, 227 + 54 pp.) gives us information on this institution, the Bureau of the Governor-General. *H. A. Idema* discusses (in B.K.I. 100, 1941, p. 173—233) the legal reforms about 1870 in an article entitled: *Indische Juristen: Winckel, Piepers, Der Kinderen. Iets uit den strijd om de legaliteit* (Indies lawyers: Winckel, Piepers, Der Kinderen. Some details of the struggle for legality), and *J. van Kan, De Strijd om het Volksrecht onder Rochussen en Duymaer van Twist* (The struggle for customary law under Rochussen and Duymaer van Twist, T.B.G. 67, 1927, p. 36—100).

## J. MILITARY HISTORY

Much has been published on the campaigns in various parts of the Archipelago, whether for the establishment or for the extension of Dutch power in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Only a few of the most important works in this field will be mentioned here. *A. J. A. Gerlach's* old *Fastes Militaires des Indes-Orientales Néerlandaises* (Military Features in the Neth. East Indies, Fr., 1859) is out of date. *G. B. Hooyer's De Krijgsgeschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië van 1811 tot 1894* (The military history of the Netherlands East Indies from 1811 to 1894, I, 1895, 357 pp., II, 1896, 292 pp., III, 1897, 480 pp. and many outline maps) is much better. A concise modern book is *J. M. Somer's Vestiging, Doorvoering en Consolidatie van het Nederlandsche gezag in Ned. Indië* (Establishment, realization and consolidation of Dutch power in the Netherlands East Indies, 1935). *A. S. H. Booms' Eenige bladzijden uit de Nederl. Indische Krijgsgeschiedenis, 1820—1840, uit de "Mémoires" van F. C. Gilly de Montela*

(Some pages from the Netherlands Indies military history, 1820—1840, 1911) must also be mentioned. *E. B. Kielstra* gives short surveys of the extension of power in various parts of the Archipelago, collected in three volumes: *Indisch Nederland* (The Netherlands in the Indies, 1910, 381 pp.), *De Indische Archipel* (The Indian Archipelago, 1917, 323 pp.) and *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag in den Indischen Archipel* (The establishment of Dutch power in the Indian Archipelago, 1920, 246 pp.).

Of the several parts, Acheh, the most important, will be discussed later, because the Acheh war was of more than local importance.

*P. H. van der Kemp* deals with the action against the last of the sultans of Palembang in his article *Palembang en Banka in 1816—1820* (Palembang and Banka in the period 1816—1820, B.K.I. 51, 1900, p. XII + 331—764).

The conflict on the West Coast of Sumatra where the native chiefs called in the help of the Dutch against the fanatic sect of Padris, lasted for years. One of the officers who took part in the fight, *H. J. J. L. de Stuers*, wrote an important study, *De Vestiging en uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter Westkust van Sumatra* (The establishment and expansion of the Dutch on the West Coast of Sumatra, ed. by *P. J. Veth*, 2 vols, 1849—50). *H. M. Lange's Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch leger ter Westkust van Sumatra, 1819—1845* (The Netherlands East Indies Army on the West Coast of Sumatra, 1819—1845, 2 vols, 1854, 520 + 524 pp.) also deals at length with this subject. These works were excellently supplemented by *E. B. Kielstra* in a number of articles in B.K.I. (36, 1887, p. 7—163; 37, 1888, p. 216—380; 38, 1889, p. 161—249, 313—379, 467—514; 39, 1890, p. 127—221, 263—348; 40, 1891, p. 106—147, 385—462, 531—611; 41, 1892, p. 254—330, 622—706) from which a survey can be obtained of the history of this area up to the point when the last article appeared.

In West Borneo there was a great deal of fighting against Chinese who were occupied in mining, in groups organised in a republican manner. One can read about this in *P. H. van der Kemp's De Vestiging van het Ned. gezag op Borneo's Westerafdeeling in 1818—1819* (The establishment of Dutch power in Borneo's western district in 1818 and 1819, B.K.I. 76, 1920, p. 117—161), in *H. J. J. L. de Stuers'* report on the expedition led by him from 1822 to 1823 as it was edited and

published by *P. J. Veth* in his *Borneo's Wester-afdeeling* (Borneo's western district, 2 vols. 1854—56), in *W. A. van Rees' Montrado* (1858, 326 pp.), which Chinese centre was captured in 1854, and in a summary by *E. B. Kielstra*, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van Borneo's Westerafdeeling* (Contributions to the history of Borneo's western district, I.G. 1889—90 and 1893).

In 1859 a war broke out with the Banjermasin kingdom on the south coast of Borneo, on which there is a detailed work by *W. A. van Rees*, *De Bandjermasinsche Krijg van 1859—1863* (The Banjermasin War, 1859—1863, 1865, 2 vols.) and also a series of articles by *E. B. Kielstra*, *De Ondergang van het Bandjermasinsche Rijk* (The fall of the Banjermasin kingdom, I.G. 1890, p. 2389—2418; 1891, p. 12—39, 364—387, 819—845, 1360—1386, 1709—1731, 2191—2211; 1892, p. 11—42, 205—217).

Much has been published on the establishment of Dutch power on Bali and neighboring Lombok. There is, first of all, an article by *Van der Kemp*, *Het verblijf van Commissaris Van den Broek op Bali van 1817 tot 1818* (The stay of commissioner Van den Broek on Bali from 1817 to 1818, B.K.I. 50, 1899, p. 331—390), then the essay by *C. Lekkerkerker*, *Het Voorspel der vestiging van de Nederlandsche Macht op Bali en Lombok* (The prelude to the establishment of Dutch power on Bali and Lombok, B.K.I. 79, 1923, p. 198—322), which is much better composed. To supplement these one should read *A. K. Nielsen's Leven en Avonturen van een Oostinjevaarder op Bali* (Life and adventures of an East Indiaman on Bali, 1928, 233 pp.) translated from the Danish, and in which the stay of the Dane Mads Lange on that island before it came entirely under Dutch influence is described in an interesting way. For information on military operations in the middle of the 19th century one then has *Krijgsverrigtingen tegen het eiland Balie in 1848* (Military operations against the island of Bali in 1848, 1849) by *J. van Swieten*, *De Derde Militaire Expeditie naar het eiland Bali in 1849* (The third Military expedition to the island of Bali in 1849, 1859) by *A. W. P. Weitzel* and, summing up, *G. Nypels' De Expeditiën naar Bali in 1846, 1848, 1849 en 1868* (The expeditions to Bali in 1846, 1848, 1849 and 1868, 1897, 220 pp.). On the expedition which took place in 1894 against Lombok there is a detailed work by *W. Cool*,

*De Lombok Expeditie* (The Lombok Expedition, 1896, 496 pp.). Strict historians will shake their heads when for the action against the still existing small kingdoms of Bali at the beginning of this century I refer to a novel, *Vicki Baum's Liebe und Tod auf Bali* (Love and Death on Bali, Germ. 1940, 532 pp.). This work, however, excellently reproduces the atmosphere of the Bali of those days and is based on information obtained from one of the men with the greatest knowledge of the island.

Much heavy fighting also took place in South Celebes. The most important works on this subject are: *G. Nijpels' Onze Strijd in Zuid-West-Selebes tot 1838* (Our struggle in South West Celebes until 1838, 1902), *M. T. H. Perelaer's De Bonische Expeditiën . . . in 1859 en 1860* (The Boni expeditions . . . in 1859 and 1860, 2 vols, 1872, 359 + 376 pp.) and *P. B. van Staden ten Brink's Zuid-Celebes, Bijdragen tot de Krijgsgeschiedenis en Militaire Geographie* (South Celebes, Contribution to the military history and military geography, 1884, 266 + 353 pp.).

The revolt which broke out in 1817 on the island of Saparua, near Amboyna, attracted a great deal of attention from historians. One of *P. H. van der Kemp's* works already mentioned, that on the administration of the Moluccas in 1817, deals with it. Then *H. A. Idema* follows with a study on *De Oorzaken van den opstand van Saparoea in 1817* (The causes of the revolt of Saparua in 1817, B.K.I. 79, 1923, p. 598—641). All the Dutch on the island were murdered with the exception of a small child who was saved by a faithful nursemaid. A descendant of this child, *C. J. G. L. van den Berg van Saparoea* also made a study of this event: *De Tragedie op het eiland Saparoea in 1817* (The Tragedy on the island of Saparua in 1817, B.K.I. 104, 1948, p. 237—336).

Quite a lot can be found in one of the few works on the navy, *J. Boelen's* autobiography *Het Merkwaardig Dagboek van een Nederlandsch Zeeman, 1795—1860* (The Remarkable Diary of a Dutch Sailor, 1795—1860, Vol. II, *De Indische Tijd*, The Indies Period, 1943, 247 pp.). On one part of the task of the naval forces, viz. the combating of piracy, there are many articles in serial form in the *Tijdschrift voor het Zeewezen* (Journal for Maritime Affairs) and the *Tijdschrift*

*voor Nederlands-Indië* (Journal for the Netherlands East Indies) by J. H. P. E. Kniphorst.

Biographies have been written of a number of soldiers. There is a work by F. M. L. van Geen on *De Generaal Van Geen, 1773—1846* (1910, 329 pp.) of which pages 169—329 deal with his Indies period (1820—1828). J. I. de Rochemont wrote *De Generaal Jan van Swieten, 1807—1888* (1888), L. F. A. Winckel, *De militaire loopbaan van den luitenant-generaal Karel van der Heyden* (Karel van der Heyden's career) [1896], which was mainly in Aceh, as well as that of General Swart, whose life is described by M. H. du Croo, *Generaal Swart, pacificator van Atjeh* (General Swart, pacificator of Aceh, 1943, 177 pp.). W. A. van Rees described the lives of two very popular officers who took part in numerous expeditions: *Toontje Poland* (2 vols, 1867, 269 + 236 pp.) and *Vermeulen Krieger* (1870, 256 pp.).

The subject dealt with by J. J. M. van Dam in his article *Jantje Kaas en zijn jongens* (Jantje Kaas and his boys, T.B.G. 82, 1942, p. 62—209) is very curious. It is the language spoken by the colonial soldiers. The article gives a detailed bibliography (p. 190—199) of military matters.

E. Cruyplants in his *Histoire de la Participation des Belges aux Campagnes des Indes Orientales néerlandaises, 1815—1830* (Fr. History of Belgian participation in the campaigns in the Netherlands East Indies, 1883) and L. Anceaux in his *La Participation des Belges à l'oeuvre coloniale des Hollandais aux Indes Orientales* (The Belgians' share in Dutch colonization in the East Indies, 1955, 160 pp.) deal with Belgians in the Netherlands East Indies Army.

## K. INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

A great deal of attention has been given for a long time to the training and position of Civil Service officials. There is also an official work on this subject: *Historische Nota over het vraagstuk van de Opleiding en Benoembaarheid voor den Administratieven Dienst in Nederl. Indië* (Historical Note on the training and eligibility for the Administrative Service in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900, 167 pp.). J. G. Larive dealt with the training of these officials at the universities of Delft and Leyden in: *De Indologische Studenten van 1843 tot 1902* (The

Colonial Civil Service Cadets from 1843 to 1902, Commemoration Volume of the Leyden Association of Overseas Civil Service Cadets, 1937, p. 22—73). Some of those officials have left interesting memoirs, as for example *H. G. baron Nahuys van Burgst*, who also published numerous other important writings. His memoirs are entitled: *Herinneringen uit het openbare en bijzondere leven van Mr. H. G. baron Nahuys van Burgst, 1799—1849* (Recollections of the public and private life of H. G. baron Nahuys van Burgst, 1858, 272 pp.). *E. Francis* wrote a similar work in three volumes: *Herinneringen uit den Levensloop van een Indisch' Ambtenaar* (Recollections of the career of an East Indies official, 1856—59). Half a century later *A. Pruys van der Hoeven* wrote his *Veertig Jaren Indische Dienst* (Forty years' service in the Indies, 1894, 301 pp.), while even much later *H. T. Damsté* wrote a sensitive biography of his friend and colleague, *L. C. Westenenk*, which was published as an introduction to the collection of sketches, *Het Rijk van Bittertong* (The Kingdom of Bittertongue) by that official (1932, p. 133—256). We are brought to still more recent times by *M. B. van der Jagt*, Governor of Surakarta, in his *Memoires* (Memoirs, 1955, 383 pp.). Recently a memorial volume appeared under the title *Gedenkboek van de Vereniging van Ambtenaren bij het Binnenlands Bestuur in Ned.-Indië, Wij Gedenken . . .* (We remember . . . , 1956, 362 pp.) with numerous contributions, some of them historical, viz. *W. Ph. Coolhaas, Ontstaan en Groei* (Origin and Growth, p. 35—72); *W. C. Koenders, Het Binnenlands Bestuur en de Indische Maatschappij* (The Civil Service and East Indies society, p. 239—362), as a last sign of life of the Association of the Civil Service Officials who left as the result of the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia on the 27th of December 1949. Of this comparatively small corps no less than 146 members fell during the second world war, often after atrocious ill-treatment at the hands of the Japanese occupying forces. Miss *Johanna W. A. Naber* drew on old family documents (1816—1873) for her *Onbetreden Paden van ons Koloniaal Verleden* (Untrodden paths of our colonial past, 1938, 173 pp.) in which she describes the everyday life of the Europeans in the Indian Archipelago in the 19th century.

## L. THE ACHEH WAR AND THE PACIFICATION OF THE OUTER DISTRICTS

If the end of the culture system had not already put an end to the flow of revenue from the Netherlands East Indies to the Netherlands, the great expense of the long Aceh War would certainly have done so. The Sumatra Treaty of 1871, already mentioned, had given the Netherlands a free hand to deal with the sultanate on the north-west point of Sumatra. The war broke out because the people of Aceh were continually guilty of piracy, which could no longer be tolerated when after the opening of the Suez Canal navigation through the Straits of Malacca greatly increased. The Aceh War broke out in 1873, and as a result of misplaced economy it was a quarter of a century before the fierce Moslem people of Aceh had been subjugated.

Works on the military history of the Aceh War are very numerous. Wider in scope than most is *E. B. Kielstra's Beschrijving van den Atjeh-Oorlog* (Description of the Aceh War, 3 vols., 1883—1885; 504 + 592 + 582 pp.) which, however, only discusses the first phase of the conflict up to 1881. *C. D. E. J. Hotz* sums up the whole war in his *Beknopt geschiedkundig overzicht van den Atjèh-oorlog* (Concise historical survey of the Aceh War, 1924).

The soldier who finally brought the war to an end, about 1900, was J. B. van Heutsz. *J. C. Lamster's* biography (1942, 185 pp.) deals with his action in Aceh. The same author also described the further career of this officer in his *J. B. van Heutsz als Gouverneur-Generaal, 1904—1909* (J. B. van Heutsz as Governor-General, 1904—1909, [1946], 312 pp.) during which period the actual authority of the Netherlands was extended over all parts of the Indian Archipelago. For this subject one should also consult *P. van Hulstijn's Van Heutsz en de Buitengewesten* (Van Heutsz and the outer districts, 1926, 153 pp.). There is a difference of opinion as to whether Van Heutsz was really such an important figure as is maintained in military quarters. According to others his success in Aceh was the result of sound advice from the very able expert on Islam, Snouck Hurgronje, while that of his action on the islands outside Java during his period of office as governor-general was partly due to the measures of H. Colijn, then still an officer in the



East Indies Army, later a very well-known Dutch statesman, who was several times Prime Minister. For information on the first question one can read *H. T. Damsté's* fascinating series of articles: *Drie Atjehmannen: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen* (Three men of Aceh: Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen, K.T. 1936, p. 457—484, 563—583; 1937, p. 21—36, 142—166, 295—307, 356—375, 517—528, 623—648; 1938, p. 7—25). Damsté did not complete his study as he knew that a friend of his was devoting a more detailed work to the problem: *K. van der Maaten*, whose *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh-Oorlog* (Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War, 2 vols., 296 + 186 pp.) appeared in 1948. In Damsté's title Van Daalen is also mentioned, the successor in Aceh of Van Heutsz, with whom he soon came into conflict. *J. W. Naarding* described this matter in a book which provoked much criticism: *Het Conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-van Daalen. Een Onderzoek naar de Verantwoordelijkheid* (The Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz—Van Daalen conflict, an investigation into the responsibility, 1938, 120 + 211 pp.).

Recently the first and second of three volumes of *Ambtelijke Adviezen* (Official Memoranda) by *C. Snouck Hurgronje* appeared, edited for the R.G.P. by *E. Gobée* and *C. Adriaanse* (1957—59, 856 and 1761 pp.). We can learn from them what great influence Snouck Hurgronje had on the administration of government from about 1889 to his death in 1936.

Van Daalen made a name for himself in particular by his expedition through the still unknown mountainous regions of the interior. This was described by *J. C. J. Kempees* in *De tocht van Overste Van Daalen door de Gajo-, Alas- en Bataklanden, 1904* (Lieutenant-Colonel Van Daalen's expedition through the Gayo-, Alas- and Batak districts in 1904, [1905], 265 pp.). The work by *M. H. du Croo*, *Marechaussée in Atjeh* (The Constabulary in Aceh, 1943, 191 pp.) is not uninteresting. It contains the recollections of the officer *H. J. Schmidt* for the period from 1902 to 1918. *H. C. Zentgraaff's Atjeh* (1938, 302 pp.) contains interesting historical sketches.

*Colijn* found a biographer in *J. C. Rullmann*, *Dr H. Colijn, een levensschets* (1933), whose work however also dealt with the non-colonial part of his career. *B. J. Brouwer* made a study of the views

of Colijn and of Idenburg, Van Heutsz's successor as governor-general on the nationalist movement, in *De houding van Idenburg en Colijn tegenover de Indonesische Beweging* (The attitude of Idenburg and Colijn towards the Indonesian nationalist movement, 1958, 192 pp.). Colijn explained his views on the policy in the so-called Outer Possessions (the islands outside Java) in the official four-volume report, largely compiled by him, *Politiek Beleid en Bestuurszorg in de Buitenbezittingen* (Policy and Administration in the Outer Possessions, 1907—1909), the first volume of which (199 pp.) gives a historical exposé going back to 1843.

In *De Korte Verklaring* (The Short Contract, 1934, 364 pp.) J. M. Somer gives a historical examination of this last form of contract between the Netherlands East Indies Government and the Indonesian princes in which their mutual rights and obligations are no longer enumerated but the princes promise to obey all the orders given them by or in the name of the governor-general. Somer's article *De Zelfbestuurspolitiek in de Buitengewesten* (The policy of self-government in the outer districts, K.T. 1936, p. 247—263, 367—384) supplements this. In two recent essays in the periodical *Indonesië, Veronachtzaamde Uitspraken* (Disregarded rulings, Feb. 1955, p. 1—26) and *Onafhankelijke Vorsten, Rijken en Landen in Indonesië tussen 1850 en 1910* (Independent princes, kingdoms and countries in Indonesia between 1850 and 1910, Aug. 1956, p. 265—296), G. J. Resink shows, by legal arguments in particular, that relations with those princes up to 1910 had a stronger international law aspect than was suspected.

## M. ECONOMIC HISTORY

Before mentioning now a number of works relating to the history of the Netherlands East Indies, or Indonesia, in our present century, it is desirable to turn our attention to a few other aspects of 19th century history which have so far not been adequately dealt with in our list. For economic history we go back even farther in order to be able to praise the generally speaking very good summary G. Gonggrijp gives in his *Schets ener Economische Geschiedenis van Nederlands-Indië* (Outline of Economic History of the Netherlands East Indies, 4th edition,

1957, 251 pp., full bibliography), although we must point out its rather extreme anti-culture system views. We also mention here briefly an English edition of the posthumous works of the historian and sociologist *J. C. van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society* (1955, 465 pp.). Were it not for the fact that this is more concerned with Indonesian history than with colonial history, more attention would be paid here to this important work. In the second volume of the work compiled under the direction of *H. Colijn, Neerlands Indië* (The Netherlands East Indies, 1912) several articles devote considerable attention to questions of economic history. Of these I mention: *H. J. W. van Lawick's Bevløëning* (Irrigation, vol. II, p. 119—137), and *De Groote Cultures* (The principal cultures, vol. II, p. 138—171), *Th. F. A. Delprat's De Mijnbouw* (Mining, vol. II, p. 172—198), *G. Vissering's Muntwezen - Handel - Bankwezen* (Monetary system, trade, banking, vol. II, p. 199—253), *A. C. Zeeman's Het Verkeerswezen te Water* (Water transport, vol. II, p. 324—343), *E. B. Kielstra's Het Verkeerswezen te Land* (Transport on land, vol. II, p. 344—353). A similar work, *Daar wèrd wat groots verricht . . .* (Great deeds were done . . . , 1941, VIII + 515 pp.), edited by *W. H. van Helsdingen* and *H. Hoogenberk* contains similar contributions by experts which are too numerous to be listed here. These articles are partly translated in the English edition *Mission Interrupted* (1945, 254 pp.). The same editors compiled another volume, *Hecht verbonden in Lief en Leed* (Closely linked for better for worse, 1946, 374 pp.) which included essays dealing with what was done for the Indies in the Netherlands. Although this volume devotes most attention to the present day, it is also of use to the student of economic history. The same applies to the *Gedenkboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1898—1923* (Memorial volume for the Netherlands East Indies, 1898—1923, 1923, 571 pp.) in which the part on *De Economische Ontwikkeling* (Economic Development) is split into a section on native welfare and one on the East Indies as a producer for the world market.

Economists dealing with the first of these subjects who do not fight shy of work in the historical field are *J. H. Boeke*, whose numerous works cannot be enumerated here, and *J. van Gelderen*. *D. H. Burger* in his *De Ontsluiting van Java's Binnenland voor het Wereldverkeer*

(The opening up of Java to world-wide communications, 1939, 257 pp.) gives a history of the consequences of the opening up of Java for modern economic life in the 19th century. He developed this subject later on in a series of articles entitled *Structuurveranderingen in de Javaanse Samenleving* (Structural changes in Javanese society, Indonesië II, 1948—49, p. 381—398, 521—537, III 1949—50, p. 1—18, 101—123, 225—250, 347—350, 381—389, 512—534). In these articles he was able to make use of a number of detailed investigations made by official order, such as *F. Fokkens' Eindresumé van het . . . Onderzoek naar de verplichte diensten der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera* (Final summing up of the investigation into the compulsory corvées of the native population on Java and Madura, 3 vols, 1901—03), *C. J. Hasselman's Eindverslag over het onderzoek naar den druk der dessa-diensten op Java en Madoera* (Final report on the investigation into the pressure of the village corvées on Java and Madura, 1905), *C. Th. van Deventer's Overzicht van den economischen toestand der Inlandsche Bevolking van Java en Madoera* (Survey of the economic position of the native population of Java and Madura, 1904), the 33 (!) volumes relating to the *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera* (Investigation into the lesser prosperity of the native population on Java and Madura, 1904—1914) of which *C. J. Hasselman* compiled a *Algemeen Overzicht* (General Survey) in 1914, *J. W. Meijer Ranneft* and *W. Huender's Onderzoek naar den belastingdruk op de Inlandsche Bevolking* (Investigation into the pressure of taxation on the native population, 1926) and the three volumes of the somewhat older *Eindresumé van het . . . Onderzoek naar de rechten van den Inlander op den Grond op Java en Madoera* (Final summing up of the investigation into native land rights on Java and Madura, 1876—1880, 1896) by *W. B. Bergsma*.

The second section mentioned above, Indonesia as a producer for the world market, was more frequently dealt with in a historical manner. *N. P. van den Berg* and *G. Vissering* both studied banking and connected subjects, the former in his *Munt- crediet- en bankwezen, handel en scheepvaart in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Monetary system, credit system and banking, trade and navigation in the Netherlands East Indies, 398 pp., 1907), the latter in *Muntwezen en Circulatie-banken in Ned. Indië*

(Monetary system and banks of issue in the Netherlands East Indies, 1920, 422 pp.). S. A. Reitsma wrote both a *Gedenkboek der Staats-spoor- en Tramwegen in Nederlandsch Indië, 1875—1925* (Memorial volume of the State railways and tramways in the Netherlands East Indies, 1875—1925, 1925, 216 pp.) and a *Korte Geschiedenis der Ned. Ind. Spoor- en Tramwegen* (Short history of the Netherlands East Indies railways and tramways, 1928, 131 pp.) in which also the private companies in this field occur. R. A. Jellema's *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorwegpolitiek* (The Netherlands East Indies Railway policy, 1929, 183 pp.) can also be mentioned in this connection. An official report is the *Geschiedkundige Nota over de Europeesche Tabaksindustrie in de Gouvernements-landen op Java* (Historical Note on the European Tobacco Industry in government territory on Java, 4 vols, 1898—1907, 323 + 83 pp.). Making use of the extensive literature on this subject, A. Goedhart dealt with the Government's activities as a coffee planter, under the strange title: *De Onmogelijke Vrijheid* (The impossible liberty, 1948, 242 pp.). J. A. van der Chijs wrote a *Geschiedenis van de Gouvernements thee-cultuur op Java* (History of the government's tea cultivation on Java, 1903, 604 pp.). Of interest is also the *Gedenkboek der Nederlandsch-Indische Theecultuur, 1824—1924* (Memorial volume of the Netherlands East Indies tea cultivation, 1824—1924, 1924, 241 pp.). I have already mentioned (p. 63) the *Memorie Boek van Pakhuismeesteren van de Thee te Amsterdam, 1818—1918* (Memorial book of tea warehouse keepers, [1918], p. 63—183 of which deal with the period after 1795. The rapid development of the very important agricultural districts on the East coast of Sumatra ("Deli") was described by W. H. M. Schadee in *Geschiedenis van Sumatra's Oostkust* (History of Sumatra's East coast, 2 vols, 1918—1919, 216 + 244 pp.) and by R. Broersma in *Oostkust van Sumatra* (The East coast of Sumatra, 2 vols, 1919—1922, 286 + 306 pp.). This author also dealt with other areas outside Java in a similar way. H. J. van Oorschot, with the aid of articles in various periodicals in particular, compiled a survey of *De Ontwikkeling van de Nijverheid in Indonesië* (The development of industry in Indonesia, 1956, 146 pp.). He takes the development back to about 1900, but has to regard the period to 1930 as a mere "paper period". As a work which generally sums up the subject I would also

mention *J. O. M. Broek's Economic Development of the Netherlands Indies* (Eng. 1942, 172 pp.). *A. Neytzell de Wilde* and *J. Th. Moll* studied *The Netherlands Indies during the Depression* (i.e. 1929—1935, Eng.; 1936, 94 pp.).

Among the many memorial volumes published by the large companies on the occasion of a jubilee there are some of very great importance. Thus in his *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (History of the Netherlands Trading Company, 1925—26, 2 vols, 484 + 524 pp.), the organisation which in the days of the culture system took the government produce to the Netherlands and disposed of it, and later acted as a "culture bank", *W. M. F. Mansvelt* gives a detailed and very well documented economic history of the Netherlands East Indies in the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, in which the strictly scholarly way in which he deals with the culture system is particularly noticeable. Later on (1938) Mansvelt anonymously published a series of short statistical studies in the publications of the Central Office for Statistics at Batavia. These are his *Handelsstatistiek Java, 1823—1873* (Trade statistics Java, 1823—1873, 51 pp.); *Scheepvaart-statistiek, 1825—1937* (Shipping statistics, 1825—1937, 39 pp.); *De Eerste Indische Handelshuizen, 1817—1862* (The first Indies trading firms, 1817—1862, 19 pp.); *Prauwvaart, 1825—1935* (Prahu trade, 1825—1935); *Handelsbetrekkingen met Nederland, 1825—1937* (Trade relations with the Netherlands, 1825—1937); *Historische Prijzen in Ned. Indië sedert 1825* (Historical prices in the Netherlands East Indies since 1825, 22 pp.); *De Economische Ontwikkeling van Ned. Indië sedert 1825* (The economic development of the Netherlands East Indies since 1825, 29 pp.); *Cultures, 1830—1937* (Cultures, 1830—1937); *Handelsstatistiek, 1874—1937* (Trade statistics, 1874—1937, 69 pp.); *Het Handelsverkeer met Singapore, 1825—1937* (Commercial relations with Singapore, 1825—1937, 19 pp.). Mansvelt regarded this material as the preliminary studies for an economic history of the Netherlands East Indies which he wanted to write. The outbreak of war held up this plan and before he was able to carry it out he was murdered in Batavia by extremist Indonesians.

How King Willem I successfully tried to help the rising textile industry in the province of Overijssel, which was largely dependent on

the sale of its products in Java, can be learned from *N. W. Posthumus' De Geheime Lijnwaadcontracten der Ned. Handelmaatschappij, 1835—1854* (The Secret textile contracts with the Netherlands Trading Company, E. H. J. II, 1916, p. 3—207).

Important, but nevertheless on a more limited scale, is the large work by *L. de Bree, Gedenkboek van de Javasche Bank, 1828—1928* (Memorial volume of the Bank of Java, 1828—1928, 1928, 2 vols, 612 + 586 pp.), in which he also gives some attention to the bank- and coinage history of the Dutch in the East before the establishment of this bank of issue, which was the first to make the granting of credit in the Netherlands East Indies possible on a fairly wide scale. Less wide in scope but nevertheless interesting are the works devoted to the important Netherlands East Indies tin mining industry, *J. C. Mollema's De Ontwikkeling van het eiland Billiton en van de Billiton-Maatschappij* (The development of the island of Billiton and of the Billiton Company, 2nd ed., 1922, 198 pp.) and *Gedenkboek Billiton, 1852—1927* (Memorial Volume, 2 vols, 1927), to which *F. W. Stapel* supplied *Aanvullende Gegevens* (Supplementary data, 1938).

One of the largest oil companies in the world, and at the same time the largest Dutch economic organisation, is the Koninklijke Maatschappij tot Exploitatie van Petroleumbronnen in Ned. Indië (Royal Company for the exploitation of oil wells in the Netherlands East Indies), known in English-speaking countries as the Royal Dutch. The early years of this company were spent in the Netherlands East Indies, but business in other parts of the world now far exceeds that in Indonesia. As a result its history is world history viewed from one particular angle, but no one will be able to understand the economic history of the Netherlands Indies without consulting its large commemorative work. The task of writing this was given one of our most remarkable contemporaries and fellow-countrymen, *C. Gerretson*, for many years the secretary to its Board of Directors, poet and excellent stylist, historian and Professor Emeritus of colonial history at Utrecht, and, moreover, politician. He was perhaps more polemical than anyone, brilliant in whatever field he chose to work in, interesting . . . and inviting contradiction. Of his excellently written and extremely fascinating *Geschiedenis der 'Koninklijke'* (History of the Royal

Dutch), the first three volumes (1932, 483 pp., 1936, 575 pp., 1941, 962 pp.) give that history, beginning about 1870, to the outbreak of the first world war. An English translation was recently published under the title *History of the Royal Dutch* (4 volumes, 1953—1957, 287 + 355 + 307 + 362 pp.).

The Dutch shipping companies gave a great deal of attention to the history of their concerns and that for some of them was mainly in, or to and from the Indian Archipelago. The first book on this subject was by *M. G. de Boer* with his *Geschiedenis der Amsterdamsche Stoomvaart* (History of the Amsterdam Steamship companies, 2 vols in 3 parts, 1921, 240 pp.; 1922, 412 pp.) in which considerable attention is given to the Indies routes. A work dealing specially with the history of the *Stoomvaartmaatschappij Nederland* (Nederland Steamship Company) with its headquarters at Amsterdam and serving the Indies was written by *I. J. Brugmans*: *Tachtig Jaren varen met de Nederland* (Eighty years of sailing with the Nederland Company, 1950, 239 pp.). The Rotterdam sister company found its historian in *A. Hoyne van Papendrecht* with his *De Zeilvloot van Willem Ruys Jan Danielszoon en de Rotterdamsche Lloyd* (The sailing fleet of Willem Ruys Jan Danielszoon and the Rotterdam Lloyd, 1933, 146 pp. + Appendices). On a larger scale is the work on the company which maintained shipping traffic in the Indian Archipelago until driven away in 1957 by the republican authorities, namely the *Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij* (Royal Packet Company). *M. G. de Boer* and *J. C. Westermann* together wrote the work *Een Halve Eeuw Paketvaart, 1891—1941* (Half a century of packet service, 1891—1941, 1941, 429 pp.). The company operating from Batavia and maintaining sea traffic to China and Japan also had its history recorded: *I. J. Brugmans, Van Chinavaart tot Oceaanvaart, de Java-China-Japanlijn, 1902—1952* (From China service to Ocean service, the Java-China-Japan line, 1902—1952, 1952, 220 pp.). Two of these large shipping companies, moreover, have recorded the important part played by their personnel and ships in the second world war. These were the *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland* (*J. W. de Roever, De Nederland in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, The Nederland Company in the second world war, 1951, 453 pp.) and the *Koninklijke*



Paketsvaart Mij. (*H. Th. Bakker, De K.P.M. in Oorlogstijd*, The K.P.M. in wartime, 1950, 330 pp.). Far less pretentious is a collected volume *De Luchtweg Amsterdam-Batavia* (The Amsterdam-Batavia air route), published in 1937 by the Koninklijke Luchtvaartmaatschappij (Royal Dutch Air Lines, 170 pp.) in which various authors consider all kinds of aspects — also historical ones — of passenger transport to and from the Indies.

In order, finally, to give some impression of the diversity of other memorial volumes which are of less general interest I mention five out of the vast quantity of works: a culture company (tobacco and rubber), *Gedenkboek van de Deli-Batavia Maatschappij 1875—1925* (Memorial volume of the Deli-Batavia Company 1875—1925, 1925, 80 pp. + numerous fine plates); an import and export firm, *H. G. Th. Crone, 1790—1940* (1940, 141 pp.); a bookseller and printer G. Kolff and Co., *Door Tyd en Vlyt* (With Time and Industry, 1948, 98 pp.); a hotel, *50 jaar Hotel des Indes* (50 years of the Hotel des Indes, 1948); and a Government institution, *40 jaar Postspaarbank in Ned. Indië* (40 years of the Post Office Savings Bank in the Netherlands East Indies, 1938, 74 pp.).

## N. CULTURAL HISTORY

Less numerous are the works in which cultural manifestations are considered in a historical manner. Of the religious — protestant — works the following must be mentioned: *S. Coolsma's* very substantial *De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (The missionary age for the Netherlands East Indies, 1901, 892 pp.) and the work by *C. W. Nortier, 1797—1947, Anderhalve Eeuw Zending* (A century and a half of missionary work, 1947, 42 pp.), which is arranged in a more modern way; for smaller areas there are *J. W. Gunning's De Protestantsche Zending in de Minahassa* (Protestant missionary work in Minahassa, B.K.I. 80, 1924, p. 451—520) and *A. Hueting's Geschiedenis der Zending op het Eiland Halmahera* (History of the missionary work on the island of Halmahera, undated, 323 pp.). There is a popular biography by *J. H. Hemmers* of *L. I. Nommensen, De Apostel der Batakken* (The Apostle of the Bataks, 1935, 208 pp.).

Catholic works which should be mentioned here are: *A. I. van*

*Aernsbergen S.J.'s Chronologisch Overzicht van de Werkzaamheid der Jesuïeten in de Missie van N.O.I.* (Chronological Survey of the activity of the Jesuits in the Netherlands East Indies Mission, 1934, 440 pp.) and by the same author *De Katholieke Kerk en hare Missie in de Minahasa* (The Catholic Church and its mission in Minahasa, B.K.I. 81, 1925, p. 8—60).

There is also a historical work on freemasonry: *100 Jaren Maçonnieke Arbeid in het licht van De Ster in het Oosten* (A hundred years of masonic work in the light of The Star in the East, 1937, 112 pp.).

*D. Schoute* followed up his study of Medicine under the V.O.C. with a work equally thorough and important on *De Geneeskunde in Ned. Indië gedurende de Negentiende Eeuw* (Medicine in the Netherlands East Indies during the nineteenth century, 1934, 381 + XXVII pp.). *C. W. Wormser* wrote a biography of the great student of Javanese and Sumatran nature, *Frans Junghuhn* (1943, 244 pp.). Of more importance is the *Gedenkboek Franz Junghuhn, 1809—1909* (Memorial volume F. J., 1910, 361 pp.). A biography of the director of the famous Buitenzorg gardens *Melchior Treub, Pioneer of a New Era in the history of the Malay Archipelago* (Eng., 1959, 127 pp.) by *H. H. Zeijlstra* just appeared. *Treub* himself was the author of *Geschiedenis van 's Lands Plantentuin te Buitenzorg* (History of the Buitenzorg Botanical Gardens, Part I, 1889. Publ. in Mededeelingen uit 's Lands Plantentuin, VI, no more parts followed). *H. F. C. ten Kate* discussed the lives of *Schilder-Teekenaars in Ned. Oost- en West-Indië* (Painters and Draughtsmen in the Netherlands East and West Indies, B.K.I. 67, 1913, p. 441—515). In the commemorative number of the well-known periodical, *De Gids*, which appeared in December 1936 on the occasion of its centenary, *H. A. Idema* dealt with *De Gids en Indië* (p. 372—395). *B. D. Swanenburg* wrote a biography of a famous archeologist: *Iwan de Verschrikkelijke. Leven en Werken van Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels* (Iwan the Terrible. Life and Works of Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, 1951, 271 pp.).

## O. THE FIRST YEARS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

But now for the political development in the twentieth century! It has already been mentioned that not until the first decade of this

century did Dutch rule penetrate to the farthest corners of the vast Indian Archipelago. During this period the *pax Neerlandica* came into being everywhere with the exception of the British part of North Borneo and Portuguese East Timor. In this way there arose among the Indonesians a realisation of their unity; only in this situation did their national aspiration become possible, only now was there a sufficient number of educated Indonesians, while the result of the Russo-Japanese war was a third important factor.

Even before political unity had been completely achieved the Dutch people had become aware of the fact that they had a great task to perform in the Archipelago as guardians of the Indonesian people, a task of education and of material and spiritual assistance. Soon these subjects became permanent points on the programmes of all the political parties and of the Government. With this the so-called ethical policy made its appearance, which originally devoted its attention mainly to education, health, irrigation and national credit, later also to political emancipation. The first move in this direction was made by the lawyer *C. Th. van Deventer* with his article, *Een Eereschuld* (A Debt of Honour) which appeared in *De Gids* in January 1899 (p. 205—257). *H. T. Colenbrander* and *J. E. Stokvis* wrote a biography of this man and published his most important writings in *Leven en Arbeid van Mr. C. Th. van Deventer* (Life and work of C. Th. van Deventer) in 3 volumes (1916—17, 433 + 444 + 448 pp.). Mrs. *H. L. T. de Beaufort* devoted a short and finely discriminating biography to the no less great jurist, *Cornelis van Vollenhoven, 1874—1933*, champion of the cause of Indonesian customary law (1954, 216 pp.). The lives or the official careers of the ethical governors-general, *A. W. F. Idenburg* (1909—1916), *J. P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum* (1916—1921) and *Jhr. A. C. D. de Graeff* (1926—1931) were dealt with by *C. J. Middelberg-Idenburg* (1935, 192 pp.), *J. E. Stokvis* (in *Indonesië*, 1948, p. 19—38) and *H. T. Colenbrander* (in *De Gids*, Sept. 1931, p. 373—404).

It has already been pointed out that no study which is satisfactory to the scholar has as yet been, or can be, written on the rise of nationalism, the attitude of the Dutch to it and the struggle which led to the independence of Indonesia. I shall therefore confine myself in general to a brief enumeration. An example of the work of a man who cannot

and will not find a single good point in favour of "colonialism" and therefore feels nothing but repugnance towards the deeds of the Dutch government, is *L'Evolution Politique en Indonésie de 1900 à 1942* (The Political Evolution in Indonesia from 1900 to 1942, Fr. 1949, 357 pp.) by the Swiss *A. von Arx*. About the same thing applies to the books of the very left-wing lawyer and sociologist, *W. F. Wertheim*, *Herrijzend Azië* (Asia resurgent, 1950, 187 pp.) and *Indonesian Society in Transition* (Eng. 1956, 360 pp.). Anyone who is not unduly bothered by this trend in Wertheim's works will find much of interest in them, otherwise they will perhaps be found annoying. Other left-wing figures are *J. E. Stokvis*, the author of *Van Wingewest naar Zelfbestuur in Ned. Indië* (From conquest to self-government in the Netherlands East Indies, 1922, 131 pp.) and the militant socialist, *D. M. G. Koch*, by whose hand there appeared, among other works, a very readable work, *Om de Vrijheid, de Nationalistische Beweging in Indonesië* (For Freedom, the Nationalist Movement in Indonesia, 1950, 160 pp.) and an autobiography, rare occurrence in the Netherlands, *Verantwoording. Een Halve Eeuw in Indonesië* (Justification. Half a century in Indonesia, 1956, 285 pp.). To the right wing belong *C. Gerretson* with speeches rich in content, on *De Historische Vorming van den Bestuursambtenaar* (The Historical training of Civil Service officials, 1925, 41 pp.) and *De Rijksgedachte* (The Imperial idea, 1954, 27 pp.) and numerous articles in the daily press, and *J. W. Meijer Ranneft*, inter alia, *Het Land dat verdween* (The land that disappeared, 1949, 88 pp.) and the fine essay on the Civil Service: *Het B.B., een Naschrift* (The Overseas Civil Service, a postscript) in the *Gedenkboek van de Utrechtsche Indologen Vereeniging* (Memorial volume of the Utrecht Society of Overseas Civil Service Cadets, 1925—1950, p. 7—27). *J. H. Boeke* published an afterthought on the *Ethische politiek* (Ethical policy, *De Gids*, Jan. 1940, p. 21—35), *F. L. Rutgers* discussed the rise of one of the first Indonesian political parties and the governor-general's attitude towards it in *Idenburg en de Sarekat Islam in 1913* (Idenburg and the Sarekat Islam in 1913, 1939, 105 pp.) while *S. J. Rutgers*, in his *Indonesië* (1947, 251 pp.) described the colonial system during the period between the first and second world wars. A very moderate Indonesian view of this subject is to be found in *Van Overheersching naar Zelfregeering* (From domin-

ation to self-rule, 1931, 159 pp.) by *Noto Soeroto*. The *Herinneringen* (Recollections, 1936, 364 pp.) of *Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*, a Javanese aristocrat and Civil Service official, are of interest and the work by the Sumatran nationalist and socialist, *Soetan Sjahrir*, *Indonesische Overpeinzingen* (Indonesian reflections), which he published in 1945 under the pseudonym *Sjahrazad* and which in 1949 was translated into English under the title *Out of Exile* (1949, 265 pp.) has its qualities. The two works entitled *Tien jaar Volksraad Arbeid* (Ten years work in the People's Council) dealing with the doings of that representative body during the periods 1918—1928 and 1928—1938 respectively are more or less official in character. This also applies to the works of the former Civil Service official, *J. Th. Petrus Blumberger*, which for this reason are sources of annoyance to those of the left wing, however much the author may have tried to remain objective. These works are: *De Communistische Beweging in Ned. Indië* (The Communist Movement in the Netherlands East Indies, 1935, 212 pp.), *De Nationalistische Beweging in Ned.-Indië* (The Nationalistic Movement in the Neth. East Indies, 1931, 462 pp.) and the less important *De Indo-Europeesche Beweging in Ned.-Indië* (The Indo-European Movement in the Neth. East Indies, 1939, 62 pp.). *J. M. Pluvier* wanted to provide a sequel to the second of these works, but he was of an entirely different mind, and an admirer of the nationalist movement. His book is based almost entirely on items in the Indonesian press. His *Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der nationalistische Beweging in Indonesië in de jaren 1930 tot 1942* (Survey of the development of the nationalist movement in Indonesia between 1930 and 1942, 1953, 234 pp.) is certainly of importance for the history of the Indonesian parties but not for the action and motives of the Netherlands government. *J. H. François' 37 Jaar Indonesische Vrijheidsbeweging* (37 years of the Indonesian independence movement, 1946, 33 pp.) should also be mentioned.

Communist disturbances which broke out about 1925 led to a thorough investigation which resulted in a *Verslag van de commissie voor het onderzoek naar de oorzaken van de Ongeregeligheden te Bantam* (Report on the causes of the disturbances at Bantam, 1927) by *J. W. Meijer Ranneft* and others for Java and a *Rapport van de Commissie van*

*Onderzoek* (Report of the Committee of investigation, 4 parts in 3 vols, 1928) for the West Coast of Sumatra. The first part of the latter was written by *B. J. O. Schrieke*. It appeared in two editions, one complete and marked 'confidential', and one in which the first chapter is abbreviated for general circulation. This abbreviated edition of chapter I and the first two sections of chapter II were translated into English and appeared in Schrieke's collected works: *Indonesian Sociological Studies, I* (1955, p. 83—167; his other studies are of less importance to the student of colonial history). A complete English translation of the confidential first chapter and of the Bantam Report was edited by *Harry J. Benda* and *Ruth T. McVey* (Translation Series Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1960). *H. Bouman's Enige beschouwingen over de ontwikkeling van het Indonesisch Nationalisme op Sumatra's Westkust* (Some views on the development of Indonesian nationalism on the west coast of Sumatra, 1949, 119 pp.) is to a great extent based on this report. A mutiny which broke out on board of one of the Dutch warships in Indies waters in 1932 led *J. C. Mollema* to write *Rondom de Muiterij op „De Zeven Provinciën”* (The mutiny on De Zeven Provinciën, 1934, 211 pp.).

## P. WORLD WAR II

World War II meant for the Netherlands East Indies occupation by Japan after a short but fierce defence, particularly at sea and in the air. In *Van Vriend tot Vijand* (1945, 382 pp.), which has already been referred to, *A. D. A. de Kat Angelino* dealt with *Japan's Imperialisme en zijn Expansie* (Japan's Imperialism and its expansion, p. 69—199), *G. A. Ph. Weyer, De Economische Betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Nederlandsch-Indië en Japan* (Economic relations between the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies and Japan, p. 200—294). The Pakistani *Muhammad Abdul Aziz* wrote a work on *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (Eng., 1955, 264 pp.). There is a book for the general public on the conflict at sea by *H. V. Quispel, Nederlandsch-Indië in den Tweeden Wereldoorlog* (The Netherlands East Indies in World War II, 1945, 247 pp.): a great deal of *K. W. L. Bezemer's* much better book of the same type on the role of

the Royal Dutch Navy in that war, *Zij vochten op de Zeven Zeeën* (They fought on the seven seas, 1954, 423 pp.) is also devoted to the conflict in Indies waters. Admiral C. E. L. Helfrich, the commander of the Dutch fleet in the Far East, who later had a leading position with the allied fleets in those areas, wrote his *Memoires* (2 vols, 1950, 476 + 410 pp.). For military actions on land the reader is referred to *Nederlands-Indië contra Japan* (The Netherlands East Indies against Japan), a work written by the military history section of the Royal Netherlands East Indies army (5 volumes have appeared to date). Of importance is the publication by the foundation, 'Indië in de Tweede Wereldoorlog' (The Indies in World War II) of *Chronologie van de gebeurtenissen aan het begin van de Pacific-oorlog* (Chronology of events at the beginning of the Pacific War, 1953, 29 pp. + supplement 1957, 24 pp.) by A. G. Vromans. In *Indië onder Japanschen Hiel* (The Indies under the Japanese heel, 1946, 244 pp.) W. H. J. Elias gives a description of life in concentration camps, in which all the Dutch were confined by the Japanese. A. A. Zorab deals with the infringements of international law during the occupation in his *De Japanse Bezetting van Indonesië en haar volkenrechtelijke zijde* (The Japanese occupation of Indonesia and its international law aspect, 1954, 173 pp.). A. J. Piekaar gave a detailed account of what the war brought to North Sumatra in his *Atjèh en de Oorlog met Japan* (Acheh and the war with Japan, 1949, 398 pp.).

#### Q. 1945—1950

There is already a great deal of literature on the period following 1945, during which the republic of Indonesia obtained its independence (1949). For this period the disadvantages of not yet being able to view the subject dispassionately enough are very great. I shall confine myself to a few titles. Of the conservative works C. Gerretson's *Indië onder Dictatuur* (The Indies under dictatorship, 1946, 152 pp.) should be read, and also *De Scheuring van het Rijk* (The rupture of the Empire, 1951, 294 pp.) and *Indonesië* (Eng., 1950, 224 pp.) both by P. S. Gerbrandy, the man who during the war, was at the head of the Dutch government which had taken refuge in London. The progressive lieutenant governor-

general, *H. J. van Mook* defended his administration in *Indonesië, Nederland en de wereld* (Indonesia, the Netherlands and the world, 1949, 255 pp.) and *The Stakes of Democracy in S.E. Asia* (Eng., 1950, 312 pp.). *W. H. van Helsdingen* deals with the preparation of the Dutch official plans to give the Netherlands East Indies a new status within the kingdom in his *De Plaats van Ned. Indië in het Koninkrijk* (The place of the Netherlands East Indies in the Kingdom, 2 volumes, 1946) and *Op weg naar een Nederlandsch-Indonesische Unie* (Towards a Netherlands-Indonesian Union, 1947, 568 pp.). *A. Stempels* wrote *De Parlementaire Geschiedenis van het Indonesische Vraagstuk* (The parliamentary history of the Indonesian question, 1950, 317 pp.), *C. Smit* carried the account further with his discussion, from the "progressive viewpoint", of *De Indonesische Quaestie. De Wordingsgeschiedenis der Souvereiniteitsoverdracht* (The Indonesian question. The genesis of the transfer of sovereignty, 1952, 289 pp.). *I. N. Djajadiningrat* studied *The beginnings of the Indonesian-Dutch negotiations and the Hoge Veluwe Talks* (Eng., 1958, 128 pp.). *Smit* also edited the notes made during his stay in Indonesia by *Professor W. Schermerhorn*, one of the Commissioners-General sent to reach agreement with the Indonesian republicans: *Het akkoord van Linggadjati* (The Linggadjati Agreement, 1959, 264 pp.). The reactionary adventurer *R. Westerling* had his memoirs published in french: *Mes aventures en Indonésie* (My adventures in Indonesia, 1952, 254 pp.).

The American lawyer, *A. A. Schiller* is the author of a survey of the juridical building up of the federal Indonesia the Dutch hoped to achieve in *The Formation of Federal Indonesia, 1945—1949* (Eng. 1955, 472 pp.). An American view of the way Indonesia acquired independence is given by *Ch. Wolf, Jr.*, in *The Indonesian Story. The Birth, Growth and Structure of the Indonesian Republic* (Eng., 1948, 201 pp.), *G. McTurnan Kahin* in a substantial volume, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Eng., 1952, 490 pp.), *W. H. Elsbree* in *Japan's Role in S. E. Asian Nationalist Movements, 1940 to 1945* (Eng., 1953, 182 pp.) and *I. Chaudhry* in *The Indonesian Struggle* (Eng., 1950, 273 pp.).



## **VI. THE AREA COVERED BY THE CHARTER OF THE WESTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE (W.I.C., WEST INDIES COMPANY) TO THE PRESENT DAY**

### **A. GENERAL WORKS**

Works on this area are much more limited in number than those on the East. Only during the first thirty years of its existence could the West Indies Company (founded in 1621) bear comparison with its East Indies sister in position and prestige. The conflict with the Spaniards originally gave it prestige and provided it with a considerable revenue, but later on this quickly declined; then the possession of part of Brazil could be compared with the territorial possessions of the V.O.C., but in 1654 the last remnant of this was lost; in the immense area covered by the charter, the Company possessed widely dispersed, unconnected establishments (on the coast of Guinea in West Africa, in Brazil, in Guyana, in the Antilles, in North America) and some of these were lost at an early date (Brazil in 1654, New Netherlands, on the River Hudson, 1664), whereas Surinam, on the coast of Guyana was not acquired until 1667. Of the later possessions the areas on the continent of America were plantation colonies and those on the islands trading stations. In 1674 the Company was reorganised in such a way that it was not much more than an administrative body which left the actual operations to others on payment of certain charges. Subsequently the possessions on the coast of Guyana, where large plantations were worked by negro slaves, certainly became so valuable that in the 18th century they could be compared with the V.O.C.'s possessions, and in 1814 in the opinion of some people even ranked more highly, but after that they declined greatly in significance during the course of the 19th

century. Whereas in 1949 the Netherlands East Indies was an enormous island territory with between 80 and 85 million inhabitants, the much smaller parts of the realm in America have now less than half a million inhabitants altogether.

There is no detailed work which sums up the whole area and the whole concern. There are, however, some short summaries such as that by *H. T. Colenbrander* in his *Koloniale Geschiedenis* (Colonial History, 1925, Vol. II, p. 1—44) and *W. R. Menkman* in *H. J. de Graaf's Nederlanders over de Zeeën* (The Dutch across the seas, 1955, Chapter I, *Nederland in Amerika en West Afrika*, the Netherlands in America and West Africa, p. 9—81). Many historical data can be found in the *Encyclopaedie van Ned. West-Indië* (Encyclopedia of the Netherlands West Indies), edited by *H. Benjamins* and *J. F. Snelleman* (1914—1917). For history during the days of the Company (i.e. up to 1791) we also have *W. R. Menkman's De West-Indische Compagnie* (1947, 186 pp.) and the parts dealing with the West in the *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens, Néerlande et Danemark* by *Ch. de Lannoy* and *H. Vander Linden* (Fr. 1911, 487 pp.).

On a vaster scale is the work by *G. J. van Grol*, *De Grondpolitiek in het West-Indische Domein der Generaliteit* (The land policy in the West Indies domain of the States General), the second volume of which (1942, 340 pp.) gives a thorough historical discussion of the legal status with regard to land tenure in the Company's territory. *G. J. Fabius* dealt briefly with a closely related subject in *Het Leenstelsel van de W.I.C.* (The feudal system of the W.I.C., B.K.I. 70, 1915, p. 555—594). In the work by *J. C. Overvoorde* and *P. de Roo de la Faille*, on *De Gebouwen van de V.O.C. en van de W.I.C. in Nederland* (The buildings of the V.O.C. and the W.I.C. in the Netherlands, 1928, see p. 32 above) p. 134—191 deal with those of the W.I.C. *C. te Lintum* provided a supplement in an article entitled *De Kamer der West-Indische Compagnie te Delft* (The Delft Branch of the West Indies Company, B.K.I. 63, 1910, p. 93—108). In *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* (Yearbook of the Central Office for Genealogy, IV, 1950, p. 160—205) *W. Wijnaendts van Resandt* enumerates the *In Nederland aanwezige . . . bronnen voor genealogisch en historisch Onderzoek naar personen of families in de gebieden eertijds ressort-*

*terende onder de W.I.C. . . . .* (Sources for genealogical and historical research which are to be found in the Netherlands concerning persons or families active in W.I.C. territory).

The man who drew attention in the Netherlands (and also in Sweden) to the importance of the New World, and who wanted a Company of much wider scope than the W.I.C., when it came into being, was Willem Usselinx. There are two biographies of him; the out-of-date *Willem Usselinx, founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies* (Papers of the Amer. Hist. Association, II no. 3, Eng., 1887) by the American J. Franklin Jameson, and the excellent Dutch one, *Willem Usselinx* (1915, 237 + CXXXII pp.) by Miss C. Ligtenberg. A work dating from 1841 but not published until 1932, *Geschiedenis van de Koloniale Wetgeving der Staten-Generaal van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (History of the colonial legislation of the States General of the Republic of the United Netherlands, B.K.I. 89, 1932, p. 183—249) by J. Tak is best mentioned here as that legislation was concerned mainly with the "West". J. C. Mollema's essay in the periodical *Historia* (10, 1944, p. 148—157) *De West-Indische Gok van 1621* (The West Indies gamble of 1621) is a short contribution written for the general public by a man with an original vision. In B.M.H.G. 21 (1900, p. 343—362) M. G. de Boer published *Een Memorie over den Toestand der W.I.C. in het jaar 1633* (Memorandum on the state of the W.I.C. in 1633), in volume 35 (1914, p. 87—104) S. van Brakel published a similar *Memorie over den handel der W.I.C. omstreeks 1670* (Memorandum on the trade of the W.I.C. about 1670). Although dating from as early as 1854—1867, G. M. Asher's *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New-Netherland and to the Dutch West-India Company and to its possessions in Brazil, Angola, etc.* (Eng.) should still be mentioned here.

Further works can best be mentioned under the areas to which they specifically refer, although it is obvious that by no means all studies confine themselves to one such area.

## B. BRASIL

We turn first to Brazil where the Dutch were beginning to gain a firm footing in 1624 and which they had to give up in 1654. Between those two dates there lies the full and eventful history of the attempt to make that great country into a New Holland. The only Dutch work on this subject is the completely out-of-date work by *P. M. Netscher* entitled *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (Fr., The Dutch in Brazil, 1853). Until a short time ago the book we preferred to consult was that by the German *H. Wätjen*, *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien* (Germ., The Dutch Colonial Empire in Brazil, 1921) a very good study and still the best work for the financial and economic aspects. For the rest it has been superseded by the book by an Englishman, *C. R. Boxer*, entitled *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624—1654* (Eng., 1957, 327 pp.). Important is also his biography of the Portuguese who was one of the principal opponents of the Dutch in Brazil and also in West Africa: *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602—1686* (Eng., 1952, 444 pp.). Boxer's fellow-countryman, *G. Edmundson*, also occupied himself with this subject in his articles *The Dutch Power in Brazil, 1624—1654* (The English Historical Review, 11, 1896; 14, 1899 and 15, 1900) and *The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the 17th Century* (E.H.R. 18, 1903, p. 642 et seq. and 19, 1904, p. 1 et seq.) which are not without merit. There are also two short Dutch surveys written for the general public: *De Nederlanders in Brazilië* (The Dutch in Brazil) by *F. Dekker* in his *Voortrekkers van Oud Nederland* (Pioneers of the Old Netherlands, 1938, p. 265—285) and part of *W. J. van Balen's Twee dochterlanden in de Nieuwe Wereld* (Two daughter countries in the New World, in the collection, *Nederland in de vijf Werelddeelen*, The Netherlands in the five Continents, compiled by *C. W. Wormser*, 1947, p. 147—209).

On the other hand a great deal has been done by Dutch historians on the history of the man who did such splendid work in Brazil as governor-general, the Johan Maurits van Nassau who is called Maurits the Brazilian to distinguish him from his cousin, the stadholder Maurits. There are four biographies of him in which the part of his life spent in the tropics received a fair share of attention. These are: *Johan Maurits*,

*de Braziliaan, 1604—1679* by *A. N. J. Fabius* ([1915], 200 pp. of which p. 13—97 are on Brazil), *Johan Maurits in Brazilië* (1941, 185 pp.) by *W. J. van Balen*, *Johan Maurits van Nassau en de korte bloeitijd van Hollandsch-Brazilië, 1636—1644* (Johan Maurits van Nassau and the short period of prosperity of Dutch Brazil, 1636—1644, 1933) by *C. Molengraaff-Gerlings* and *Johan Maurits van Nassau, de Braziliaan* (1947, 216 pp., p. 25—83 on Brazil) by *P. J. Bouman*. In 1953 an exhibition was held in his honour in the Mauritshuis, the beautiful house Maurits had built for himself in the Hague, which is now the home of the splendid picture gallery, well-known to every foreign visitor. From the handsome catalogue (72 pp. and many reproductions) in which the Brazilian ambassador (then envoy) to the Netherlands, *J. de Sousa Leao*, a great admirer of this enlightened Dutch governor-general, also wrote an article, it is apparent to how great an extent Maurits was a patron of arts and science. He was accompanied by six painters, among whom were the well-known landscape artist Frans Post and the painter of animals Albert Eeckhout, and also many scholars, of whom *Willem Piso* in collaboration with the great naturalist, *Georg Marcgraf*, was the author of *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (1648), while *Caspar Barlaeus* wrote a *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub praefectura Comitum I. Mauritii Nassoviae etc. . . . historia*, which was beautifully published in 1647. The last work, which is to be regarded as a continuation of the book by De Laet mentioned p. 18 and which goes as far as 1636, was excellently translated in 1923 by *S. P. l'Honoré Naber* and published with the same beautiful plates as in the original under the title *Nederlandsch-Brazilië onder het Bewind van Johan Maurits, Grave van Nassau, 1637—1644* (Dutch Brazil under the rule of Johan Maurits Count of Nassau, 1637—1644). After Barlaeus there comes *Johan Nieuwhof's Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lantreise* (Memorable sea and land journey, 1682), dealing with the period 1640—1649.

Many documents on Dutch connections with Brazil are printed in volumes XXV, XXVII, XXIX (1870, 1872, 1874) of the *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap* (Chronicle of the Historical Society), and in volume 2 of the *B.M.H.G.* (1879). Of importance is also *Het Dagboek van Hendrik Haecx, Lid van den Hoogen Raad van Brazilië*,

1645—1654 (Journal of Hendrik Haecxs, Member of the Supreme Court of Brazil, 1645—1654, published by S. P. *l'Honoré Naber* in B.M.H.G. 46, 1925, p. 126—311, translated into Portuguese in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, 69, 1950, p. 5—159). *M. G. de Boer* discussed the recapture of San Salvador by the Portuguese in 1625 in his article *De Val van Bahia* (The fall of Bahia, T.v.G. 58, 1943, p. 38—49), *J. C. M. Warnsinck*, *Een Mislukte Aanslag op Nederlandsch Brazilië, 1639—1640* (An unsuccessful attack on Dutch Brazil, 1639—1640, in his *Van Vlootvoogden en Zeeslagen*, Of admirals and sea battles, 1943, p. 128—160, also in the periodical *De Gids*, Febr. 1940, p. 174—206). *C. R. Boxer's The Recovery of Pernambuco, 1645—1654* (Eng. in *Atlante*, Jan. 1954, 17 pp.) is a preliminary study for his book already mentioned. In his *Witte de With in Brazilië, 1648—1649* (1955, 324 pp.) we have a detailed study by *W. J. van Hoboken* of a Government attempt to save Brazil in 1648 by sending a fleet of the Dutch Navy. Preliminary studies for this work are *Een Troepen-transport naar Brazilië in 1647* (Troop transport to Brazil in 1647, T.v.G. 62, 1949, p. 100—109), and *Een Muiterij in Verzuimd Brazil* (A Mutiny in lost Brazil, *De Nieuwe Stem* 9, 1954, p. 377—392). Recently, in a study entitled *De W.I.C. en de vrede van Munster* (The W.I.C. and the Treaty of Westphalia, T.v.G. 70, 1957, p. 359—368) he showed that the decline of the W.I.C. was due to the loss of Brazil rather than to the peace with Spain. *M. de Jong's Holland en de Portugese Restauratie van 1640* (Holland and the Portuguese restoration of 1640, T.v.G. 55, 1940, p. 225—253) should also be mentioned in this connection. Anyone who desires an exhaustive bibliographical survey of Dutch activities in Brazil should consult *J. H. Rodrigues, Historiografia e Bibliografia do domínio Holandês no Brasil* (Historiography and Bibliography of Dutch Rule in Brazil, Port. 1949, 489 pp.).

## C. WEST AFRICA

Closely connected with the W.I.C.'s action in Brazil was that in West Africa, where the labour forces were obtained for the plantations, and particularly in the Gold Coast. The number of scholarly publications on this subject is not great. One of the oldest is *J. K. J. de Jonge's*

*De Oorsprong van Neerland's Bezittingen op de kust van Guinea* (The origin of the Netherlands possessions on the coast of Guinea, 1871). Somewhat more recent is J. G. Doorman's *Die Nederlândisch-West-Indische Compagnie an der Goldkûste* (Germ., The W.I.C. on the Gold Coast, T.B.G. 40, 1898, p. 389—496), which was used for years as the most convenient general work. This is now K. Ratelband's study, *West-Afrika*, which goes as far as the surrender of the possessions to Great Britain in 1872. One can only regret that because it appeared in an edition for the general public (*Nederland in de vijf Werelddeelen*, The Netherlands in the five Continents, 1947, p. 247—273) it mentions neither literature nor sources. These are to be found, however, in Ratelband's *Vijf Dagregisters*, mentioned p. 18. In E.H.J. XXI, 1940, p. 194—217 W. S. Unger published *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het begin der vaart op Guinea* (New sources for the beginning of the trade to Guinea). J. H. Kernkamp's study on a 16th century Rotterdam merchant trading to all parts of the world *Johan van der Veken en zijn tijd* (v. d. V. and his time [1952] 35 pp.) is best mentioned here.

Of old descriptions I mention Olfert Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten* (Accurate description of the African territories, 1668) and Willem Bosman's *Nauwkeurige Beschrijving van de Guinese Goud- Tand- en Slavekust enz.* (Accurate description of the Guinea Gold, Ivory and Slave coast etc., 1704). In the Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society (vol. I, 1952, p. 1—16) one can find a well illustrated article by W. J. Varley on *The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast*. K. Ratelband's article, *Drie Tekeningen van Abraham Jacobsz. Wis* (Three Drawings of Wis, T.A.G. 2nd series, 67, 1950, p. 33—39) deals with the same matters. The *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap* (Chronicle of the Historical Society, 25, 1870) contains some data on the short-lived mastery of the Dutch in Angola (1641—1648), while S. P. l'Honoré Naber published a *Nota van Pieter Mortamer over het Gewest Angola* (Pieter Mortamer's note on the Angola district, B.M.H.G. 54, 1933, p. 1—42) with a good introduction, and K. Ratelband described *De Expeditie van Jol naar Angola en São Thomé, 1641* (Jol's expedition to Angola and São Thomé, 1641, 1943, 24 pp.). In B.M.H.G. 53, 1932, p. 246—261, H. C. Hazewinkel published *Twee Attestaties over de Nederlandsche Koloni-*

*satie aan de Goudkust* (Two attestations on the Dutch colonisation on the Gold Coast), dating from 1690 and 1691. The 18th century tempted hardly anyone to undertake studies in this field. We can only mention the description of the life of a slave who became a minister of the Reformed Church: *A. Eekhof, De Negerpredikant J. E. J. Capitein, 1717—1747* (The negro minister J. E. J. Capitein, 1717—1747, 1917, 112 pp.). There is rather more literature on the 19th century. *F. W. Stapel* published *Instructies en Bestuursreglementen nopens het beleid der Regeering ter Kuste van Guinee* (The instructions and government regulations concerning the government's policy on the coast of Guinea, B.K.I. 86, 1930, p. 1—41) dating from the years between 1815 and 1847. The former marshal of Louis Napoleon, the same Daendels we have already met as governor-general of the Netherlands East Indies, spent the last years of his life half in disgrace with King Willem I as governor-general of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast in the gloomy fort of Sint George d'Elmina. Miss *D. A. Hoogendijk* wrote an article on this episode entitled *Mr. Herman Willem Daendels als Gouv. Gen. ter kuste van Guinea* (Herman Willem Daendels as Governor General of the coast of Guinea, W.I.G. 25, 1943, p. 257—266, 289—302). She also studied *De Expedities van Kolonel-Ingenieur W. Starrenburg ter Kuste van Guinea, 1816—1817* (Colonel W. Starrenburg's expeditions on the Guinea coast, 1816—1817, W.I.G. 27, 1946, p. 161—181) which were made by order of Daendels. Of interest is also *G. J. Fabius', De Gebeurtenissen in Guinea gedurende de laatste drie jaren, waarin dit gebied in Nederlandsch bezit was, 1869—1872* (The events in Guinea during the last three years this area was in the possession of the Dutch, 1869—1872, B.V.G. VIII, IV 1942, p. 1—30). The transfer to Britain of that possession, which in the Netherlands about 1870 could only be regarded as a financial nuisance, was dealt with by Miss *A. M. P. Mollema* in the collection *Varia Historica* (1954, p. 215—242), in an essay entitled *De Afstand der Nederlandse Bezittingen ter kuste van Guinea aan Engeland in 1872* (The cession of the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea to England in 1872).



## D. SLAVE TRADE

It is obvious that the importance to the W.I.C. of the possession of the forts on the Gold Coast originated in the slave trade, on which at this point it seems best to give some bibliographical details. It is dealt with in connection with the triangular voyage, the Netherlands, West-Africa, the West-Indies, the Netherlands, in *J. Hudig's De Scheepvaart op West-Afrika en West-Indië in de Achttiende Eeuw* (Shipping to West Africa and the West Indies in the eighteenth century, 1926, 51 pp). A survey of our knowledge of the negro slave trade is given in *L. C. Vrijman's Slavenhalers en Slavenhandel* (Slavers and the slave trade, 1937, 156 pp.) which is written for the general reader. Recently *W. S. Unger* published an important *Beknopt Overzicht van de Nederlandse Slavenhandel in het Algemeen* (Concise survey of the Dutch slave trade in general) as the first part of a series of contributions on this subject (E. H. J. 26, 1956, p. 133—174). *G. W. Kernkamp* published *Een Contract tot Slavenhandel van 1657* (Slave trading contract of 1657, B.M.H.G. 22, 1901, p. 444—459). Miss *I. A. Wright* studied the very important contract for the delivery of slaves to South America, which was concluded between the Amsterdam trading firm of Coymans and the Spanish government, in an article entitled *The Coymans Asiento, 1685—1689* (Eng. B.V.G. VI, I, 1924, p. 23—62). *W. R. Menkman's Nederlandsche en vreemde Slavenvaart* (Dutch and foreign slave traffic, W.I.G. 26, 1944—45, p. 97—110) should also be mentioned. *S. van Brakel* published *Bescheiden over den slavenhandel der W.I.C.* (Letters on the slave trade of the W.I.C.; in E.H.J. IV, 1918, p. 47—83).

## E. THE CARIBBEAN SEA AREA

### AND THE ATTACKS ON THE SPANISH SILVER FLEET

The W.I.C. had contact for years with several of the Caribbean islands or Antilles. In that sea, until the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), it also tried to make things as difficult as possible for the Spaniards by privateering. A general survey of its activity there and the continuation of Dutch action in that region until the present day is given by *W. R. Menkman* in his *De Nederlanders in het Caraïbische Zeegebied*

(The Dutch in the Caribbean Sea area, 1942, 291 pp., extensive bibliography!). Many data on the activity of the Dutch in the area in question can be found in the detailed work in two volumes by Miss *I. A. Wright* and *C. F. A. van Dam*: *Nederlandsche Zeevaarders op de eilanden in de Caraïbische Zee en aan de Kust van Columbia en Venezuela gedurende de jaren 1621—1648(9)* (Dutch navigators on the islands in the Caribbean Sea and on the coast of Columbia and Venezuela during the period 1621—1648(9), I, 1934, 256 + 434 pp., II, 1935, 168 + 272 pp.). The most successful venture against the Spaniards was under the direction of the earliest of the famous 17th century Dutch admirals, Piet Heyn, who in fact won his reputation as a result of the capture of a very rich Spanish Silver fleet (in 1628), i.e. the fleet bringing the treasures from the New World to Spain. This fact is known to every Dutch child from a popular song and to this day Piet Heyn has remained a very popular figure. His life was described, among others, by *J. C. M. Warnsinck* in the collection *Drie zeventiende-eeuwsche Admirals, Piet Heyn, Witte de With, Jan Evertsen* (1938, p. 13—54, Three 17th century Admirals) and in *Twaalf Doorluchtige Zeehelden* (Twelve illustrious naval heroes, 1941, p. 15—25) and by *M. G. de Boer* in *Piet Heyn en de Zilveren vloot* (Piet Heyn and the Silver fleet, 1946, 146 pp.), while *S. P. l'Honoré Naber* and Miss *I. A. Wright*, after a detailed and important introduction, published a large number of Spanish and Dutch documents concerning this feat of arms in *Piet Heyn en de Zilvervloot* (Piet Heyn and the Silver fleet, 1928, CLXXXVII + 239 + XXXIX + 308 pp.). In *B.M.H.G.* 51, 1930, p. 22—34 *S. P. l'Honoré Naber* gives a few more *Nalezingen* (Additional data). Much less known is the hero of Miss *J. B. van Overeem's* interesting article *De Reizen naar de West van Cornelis Cornelisz. Jol, alias Kapitein Houtebeen, 1626—1640* (The journeys to the West by Cornelis Cornelisz. Jol, alias Captain Houtebeen = Woodenleg, 1626—1640, *W.I.G.* 24, 1942, p. 1—19 and p. 33—50). The same applies to the privateer captain, Jan Erasmus Reining, dealt with in the amusing book by *David van der Sterre*, *Zeer Aenmerkelijke Reysen gedaan door Jan Erasmus Reyning* (Very considerable journeys made by Jan Erasmus Reyning, 1937, 261 pp.) which was edited by *L. C. Vrijman*. While writing, we have come to the pirates and buccaneers. A famous book

on them is the work of a man who lived among them for years, *A. O. Exquemelin*, the author of *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers* (The American pirates), dating from 1678, which has been translated into various languages.

## F. THE DUTCH ANTILLES

If I now turn to the history of the Dutch on the islands, then first of all I must mention, as the most important work, *J. H. J. Hamelberg's* study, planned on a wide scale, in which he gives the history and the most important documents. This is his *De Nederlanders op de West-Indische Eilanden* (The Dutch on the West Indies Islands), of which volume I (1901—1909, with a section of documents) deals with the most important island, Curaçao and the two other nearby Leeward Islands Aruba and Bonaire up to 1782, and volume II (1903, also with a section of documents) with the so-called Windward Islands: St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten (which is half French) ending with the year 1702, abruptly in the middle of a sentence. Rather out-of-date is *M. D. Teenstra's De Nederlandsche West-Indische Eilanden* (The Dutch West Indies Islands, 2 vols, 1836—1837) while *C. P. Amelunxen's De Geschiedenis van Curaçao opnieuw verteld* (The History of Curaçao retold, 1929, 227 pp.) has no scholarly pretensions. The Memorial Volume, which appeared in 1934 when Curaçao had been Dutch for 300 years (*Gedenkboek Nederland-Curaçao 1634—1934*, 382 pp.) contains various essays, for the greater part of historical interest. *Oranje en de zes Caraïbische parelen* (The House of Orange and the six Pearls of the Caribbean, 1948, 530 pp. + many photo's) is a similar work important for the years 1898—1948. *H. Hoetink*, author of the interesting *Het Patroon van de Oude Curaçaose Samenleving* (The pattern of old Curaçao Society, 1958, 187 pp.) is a sociologist interested in history.

The sumptuously produced *Historie en Oude Families van de Nederlandse Antillen* (History and Old Families of the Dutch Antilles, 1951, 448 pp.) by *A. J. C. Krafft* is in the main a collection of genealogies of prominent families in the islands. The first volume of the work by *G. J. van Grol*, *De Grondpolitiek in het West-Indische Domein der Generaliteit* (The land policy in the West Indies domain of the States

General, 1934, 155 pp.), mentioned p. 123 (vol. 2), gives good studies, mainly on the islands, in three articles under the title *Algemeen Historische Inleiding* (General Historical Introduction, p. 7—37 dealing with the historical base of the constitution of the Neth. Wind- and Leeward Islands, p. 39—72 dealing with the Windward Islands between 1630 and 1816, p. 73—155 with Curaçao up to 1639). In the W.I.G. 24, 1942, p. 361—382; 25, 1943, p. 1—28, 193—247; 26, 1944—45, p. 229—246) one can find articles by *B. de Gaay Fortman* on *Curaçao in de jaren 1804 tot 1816* (Curaçao in the period 1804 to 1816), when it was occupied by the British. The same author tells, how it was recovered in 1816, *De inbezitneming van Curaçao in 1816* (The restitution of C., T.v.G., 29, 1914, p. 91—100). The state in which the Dutch found the island in 1817 is described in *J. de Hullu's Curaçao in 1817* (B.K.I. 67, 1913, p. 563—609). Here we also meet again with Van den Bosch, the father of the culture system on Java. *B. de Gaay Fortman* published the important letters written by *Van den Bosch* as Commissioner for the West Indies Islands to the Minister for the Navy and the Colonies between 1827 and 1829 (B.M.H.G. 51, 1930, p. 189—335). A result of his reports was the uniting of the islands, for administrative purposes, with Surinam. *F. Oudschans Dentz* tells briefly how this came to an end in 1845 (De Gids, Sept. 1946, p. 161—167). In T.A.G. (July 1948, p. 669—682) *W.R. Menkman* gives a general survey of *De Economische Ontwikkeling der Boven- en Benedenwindse Eilanden* (The Economic development of the Windward and Leeward Islands) since 1816. An article of the same type is *A. Jonkers' Economische Aspecten van de Nederlandse Antillen vroeger en nu* (Economic Aspects of the Netherlands Antilles, De Gids, Aug. 1956, p. 232—244). Much wider in scope are *H. W. C. Bordewijk's Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van het Staatsrecht van Curaçao* (Origin and development of the constitutional law of Curaçao, 1911, 306 pp.) and the recent work by Miss *Annemarie C. T. Kasteel, De Staatkundige Ontwikkeling der Nederlandse Antillen* (The political development of the Netherlands Antilles, 1956, 351 pp.) in which she describes how after World War II these islands became equal partners in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. *C. Ch. Goslinga* dealt with the emancipation of the slaves in his *Emancipatie en*

*Emancipator* (Emancipation and Emancipator, 1956, 187 pp.) strongly emphasizing the merits in this matter of the apostolic pro-vicar, Mgr. Niewindt. For information on the missionary work the reader is referred to *J. Brada's Mgr. van Ewijck, Eerste Dominicaansche Bisschop (1896) der Nederlandsche Antillen* (Mgr. van Ewijck, first Dominican bishop, 1896, of the Netherlands Antilles, 1950), who also wrote other books on missionaries (mentioned by Goslinga) and *G. J. M. Dahlhaus' Mgr. Martinus Joannes Niewindt, Een levensschets, 1824—1860* (1924, 491 pp.). Of late, much attention has been given to the historical buildings, etc. of the islands. *M. D. Ozinga* wrote a fine well-illustrated work *De Monumenten van Curaçao in woord en beeld* (The monuments of Curaçao described and illustrated, 1959, 278 + 164 pp. with plates), and *I. S. Emmanuel* gives a very full description of the beautiful tombs of the Jewish community in his *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao; Curaçao Jewry, 1656—1957* (Eng., 1957, 584 pp.). This book is also of genealogical interest.

*K. H. Corporaal, De Internationaalrechtelijke betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Venezuela, 1816—1920* (International relations between the Netherlands and Venezuela, 1816—1920, 1920, 672 pp.) is best mentioned here.

If so far I have only mentioned studies on all the islands together or on the central island of Curaçao, there are also some on the history of the others separately. There is even a detailed work by the journalist *J. Hartog, Aruba* (1953, 480 pp.) on that of Aruba, an island which until 1929 was economically quite unimportant, but which then attained great prosperity as a result of the establishment of a large American oil concern there. This was followed recently by a similar book on the still unimportant island of *Bonaire* (1957, 456 pp.). *W. R. Menkman* published *Stukken betreffende het eiland Tabago, 1664—1684—1698* (Documents relating to the island of Tabago, 1664—1684—1698, Rotterdamch Jaarboekje 1939, p. 80—93), an island which during the 17th century was Dutch for a time. In 1898 *J. H. J. Hamelberg* wrote a *Historische Schets van de Nederlandsche Bovenwindsche Antillen tot op het einde der 17de eeuw* (Outline of the history of the Dutch Windward Islands until the end of the 17th century). Following on from both this book and the one on the Dutch on the West Indies

Islands, which was so suddenly cut short by the author, *L. Knappert* wrote a detailed *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Bovenwindsche Eilanden in de 18de eeuw* (History of the Dutch Windward Islands in the 18th century, 1932, 308 pp.). One of those islands, St. Eustatius, became very rich as a smuggling station for the trade with the British colonies in America, risen in revolt. The island was a "Golden Rock" until the Dutch republic became involved in the war. The account of this situation and its repercussions can be found in *J. Franklin Jameson's Sint Eustatius in the American Revolution* (Eng., The American Hist. Rev. VIII, 1903, p. 683—708). *J. de Hullu* published both a description of *St. Eustatius in 1819*, by *A. de Veer* (B.K.I. 68, 1913, p. 429—444) and a report on *Sint Martin en Saba omstreeks 1818*, by *P. R. Cantz'laar* (St. Martin and Saba about 1818, I.G., 38, I, 1916, p. 197—220). Finally, *W. R. Menkman* wrote an article entitled *Zuid-amerikaansche Piraterie en onze Bovenwindsche eilanden voor vijf kwart eeuw* (South American piracy and our Windward Islands a century and a quarter ago, W.I.G., 25, 1943, p. 65—80, 97—116, 129—154).

## G. GUIANA

Dutch contacts with the coasts of South America between the estuaries of the Amazon and the Orinoco were numerous. The earliest of these were described by *G. Edmundson*, *The Dutch in Western Guiana* (The Eng. Hist. Rev. 16, 1901, p. 640—675) and *Early Relations of the Manos with the Dutch, 1606—1732* (E.H.R. 21, 1906, p. 229—253). Relations with that part of Guiana which became British at the beginning of the 19th century and which is now called British Guiana lasted longer. *P. M. Netscher* wrote a *Geschiedenis van de koloniën Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice* (History of the colonies Essequibo, Demerary and Berbice, 1888, 422 + 10 pp.). Under the title *The Rise of British Guiana*, *C. A. Harris* and *J. A. J. de Villiers* edited the letters of Storm van 's Gravesande for the Hakluyt Society (1911, 703 pp.). He was the Dutch Governor of those colonies for many years in the 18th century. *De Villiers* published a Dutch version of this work later under the title *Storm van 's Gravesande, Zijn Werk en zijn Leven*

(Storm van 's Gravesande, his work and his life, 1920, 416 pp.). *F. Oudschans Dentz* provided data on *De Gouverneursfamilie de la Sablonière in Berbice, 1768—1773* (The family of the Governor de la Sablonière in Berbice, 1768—1773, W.I.G. 26, 1944—45, p. 24—38). In the periodical, *De Navorscher* (95, 1955, p. 127—145; 96, 1956, p. 65—72 and p. 139—155) *J. Belonje* inserted a communication on the *Toestanden te Rio Demerary tegen het einde der 18de Eeuw* (Conditions at Rio Demerary towards the end of the 18th century). *M. G. de Boer* described *Een Nederlandsche nederzetting aan de Oyapock, 1677* (A Dutch settlement on the Oyapock in 1677, the boundary river between Brazil and French Guiana, in T.v.G. 14, 1899, p. 321—342). *S. P. l'Honoré Naber's* publication *Eene Hollandsche Jonge Dame aan de Oyapock in 1677* (A Dutch young lady on the Oyapock in 1677, B.M.H.G. 49, 1928, p. 214—236) is rather curious. Quite recently *G. van Alphen* wrote *Jan Reeps en zijn onbekende kolonisatiepoging in Zuid-Amerika* (Jan Reeps and his unknown effort for a colony in South-America, 1960, 103 pp.) on a temporary colony near the estuary of the Amazone.

## H. SURINAM

The most important Dutch possession on the coast of Guiana, however, was Surinam, which was conquered from the English in 1667 by a Zealand expedition under the leadership of Crijnssen, and which is now a member with equal rights within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. For a general survey of its history we must still make do with an out-of-date work of 1861, *J. Wolbers' Geschiedenis van Suriname* (History of Surinam) in which the author describes the history of Surinam from the discovery of America up to the year 1860. We have a *Geschiedkundige Tijdstafel van Suriname* (Chronological table for the History of Surinam, 1949, 146 pp.) by *F. Oudschans Dentz*. An important 18th century publication is *J. J. Hartsinck's Beschryving van Guiana, of de Wilde Kust, in Zuid-Amerika* (Description of Guiana or the savage coast in South America, 2 vols, 1770). A short modern summary, which in fact also deals with the Caribbean islands, can be found in the collection *Nederland in de vijf Wereld-deelen* (The Netherlands in the five Continents, 1947) viz. *W. R.*

*Menkman's Guyanas en Antillen* (Guianas and Antilles, p. 275—415). U. M. Lichtveld and J. Voorhoeve edited an attractive historical anthology containing various pieces of interest for the history of this country entitled *Suriname: Spiegel der Vaderlandse Kooplieden* (Surinam: The Dutch Merchants' Mirror, 1958, 301 pp.).

A good deal has appeared on individual episodes in Surinam history. C. H. de Goeje wrote an interesting account of the history of its discovery to the present day under the title *Suriname Ontdekt* (Surinam discovered, T.A.G. 2nd series, 51, 1934, p. 51—89). F. Oudschans Dentz published an English description of Surinam before its conquest by Abraham Crijnssen, with Dutch notes, *Suriname vóór de verovering door Abraham Crynssen* (B.M.H.G. 39, 1918, p. 173—213), on the period when Lord Willoughby had a settlement there. For details of that conquest the reader is referred to J. C. M. Warnsinck's *Abraham Crijnssen, De Verovering van Suriname en zijn aanslag op Virginie in 1667* (Abraham Crijnssen, the conquest of Surinam and his attack on Virginia in 1667, 1936, 183 pp.) and the description giving the English point of view: *Verhaal van de inneming van Paramaribo (1665) door generaal William Byam* (Account of the capture of Paramaribo by General William Byam) published by G. Edmundson (B.M.H.G. 19, 1898, p. 231—262). F. Oudschans Dentz also published a few English documents on the conquest of Surinam (B.M.H.G. 40, 1919, p. 1—9). F. E. baron Mulert gives a short exposition in an article entitled *De Verovering van Suriname, voor 250 jaren, herdacht* (Commemoration of the Conquest of Surinam 250 years ago, in the periodical *Onze Eeuw* 17, 1917, p. 401—410). Miss J. Felhoen Kraal wrote a historical essay on *Wapens en Zegels van Suriname* (Arms and seals of Surinam, 1950, 31 pp. + photo's). For Surinam we have a work by A. J. A. Quintus Bosz of the same nature as that by Van Grol for the whole territory in the West, entitled *Drie Eeuwen Grondpolitiek in Suriname* (Three centuries of land policy in Surinam, 1954, 487 pp.). The first part (p. 1—184) will be of particular interest to the historian, as it deals with the remarkable law of allodial ownership and hereditary possession, which imposed upon the tenants certain obligations according to public law. F. Oudschans Dentz, who also gave a short survey of the various plans for the



colonisation of Guiana (W.I.G. 25, 1943, p. 248—254), wrote a book on *De Kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodsche Natie . . . en de Geschiedenis van de Joden savanne* (The colonisation by the Portuguese-Jewish nation . . . and the history of the "Jewish savannah", 1927, 63 pp.). L. L. E. Rens' *Analysis of Annals relating to early Jewish settlement in Surinam* (in *Vox Guyanae* I, Eng. 1954, p. 19—38) is also of importance for this subject. In the periodical *De Navorscher* (66, 1917) Baron Mulert published a statement of the population of Surinam in 1675 (p. 401—406), likewise a document on the financial administration in 1679 (p. 449—458). In T.A.G. (2nd series, 64, 1947, p. 235—239) Oudschans Dentz published an essay *Uit de Geschiedenis van de Hoofdplaats van Suriname* (Notes on the history of the capital of Surinam, i.e. Paramaribo). Moreover, in *Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck* (1938, 198 pp.), whose official letters were published by R. Bijlsma (in W.I.G. 5, 6, 7, 1924—1926) he gave us the biography of one of the ablest governors in the 17th century.

Soon the plantations in Surinam become important. It is again Oudschans Dentz who enlightens us on *De Herkomst . . . van Surinaamsche Plantagenamen* (The origin . . . of Surinam plantation names, W.I.G. 26, 1944—45, p. 147—180). C. F. Gülcher tells us about *Een Surinaamsche Koffieplanter uit de 18de eeuw* (S. L. Neale) (A Surinam coffee planter in the 18th century, S. L. Neale, W.I.G. 25, 1943, p. 41—59). W. W. van der Meulen's *Beschrijving van eenige Westindische-plantageleeningen* (Description of some West Indies plantation loans, B.M.H.G. 25, 1904, p. 490—580) is interesting. In volume 3, 1922, p. 325—332, of the W.I.G. R. Bijlsma published *Surinaamsche Plantage-inventarissen uit het tijdperk 1713—1742* (Surinam plantation inventories in the period 1713—1742). J. G. van Dillen published a *Memorie betreffende de kolonie Suriname* (Memorandum on Surinam, E.H.J. 24, 1950, p. 162—167) of about 1735. For the plantations of course negro slaves were imported. A recent exposition of the establishment of the negroes is given by L. L. E. Rens in his *The historical and social background of Surinam Negro-English* (Eng., 1953, 155 pp.). G. Debiën and Miss J. Felhoen Kraal wrote an article entitled *Esclaves et Plantations de Surinam vus par Malouet, 1777* (Fr., Slaves and Plantations in Surinam, in Malouet's view, W.I.G., 36, 1955—56, p. 53—60). A rather one-sided

account is given by the very left-wing writer, *A. de Kom* in *Wij Slaven van Suriname* (We slaves of Surinam, 1934, 234 pp.). Slaves who moved into the practically uninhabited interior formed there the society of so-called maroons. In B.K.I. (97, 1938, p. 295—362) *E. Wong* gives data on *Hoofdenverkiezing, Stamverdeeling en Stamverspreiding der Bosch-negers van Suriname in de 18e en 19e eeuw* (Election of chiefs, distribution and spread of the tribes of Surinam Maroons in the 18th and 19th centuries). The history of the mission in Surinam is interesting. It was preceded by the establishment of a group of Jean de Labadie's followers, on whom *L. Knappert* wrote an article *De Labadisten in Suriname* (The Labadists in Surinam, W.I.G., 8, 1927, p. 193—218). The Moravian Brethren, who were among the earliest and best Protestant missionaries, were much more successful. A recent detailed study with a full bibliography is given by *J. M. van der Linde* in his *Het Visioen van Herrnhut en het Apostolaat der Moravische Broeders in Suriname, 1735—1863* (The vision of Herrnhut and the Apostolate of the Moravian Brethren in Surinam, 1735—1863, 1956, 264 pp.). Not mentioned in the bibliography in question is the article by *C. K. Kesler*, *Hoe de eerste Herrnhutters naar Suriname kwamen* (How the first Moravians came to Surinam, T.v.G. 50, 1935, p. 389—399). *A. W. Marcus* wrote *De Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsch-Hervormde Gemeente in Suriname* (The History of the Dutch Reformed Community in Surinam, 1935, 85 pp.), and *M. F. Abbenhuis*, *Het Apostolisch Vicariaat Suriname* (The Apostolic Vicariate of Surinam, 1942). The same subject is dealt with briefly by this author, with a list of sources and bibliography, in a recent issue of the periodical, *Vox Guyanae* (II, 1956, p. 117—144).

*J. F. E. Einaar* wrote a detailed *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Engelsch tusschenbestuur van Suriname, 1804—1816* (Contribution to the knowledge of the English interregnum in Surinam, 1804—1816, 1934, 228 pp.). For the abolition of slavery the reader should consult the emancipation number of *De West-Indische Gids* (34, 1953). Of its contents I would mention here particularly Miss *J. M. van Winter's* two articles, *Lijst van Bronnen betreffende de afschaffing van de slavernij in Nederlands West-Indië* (List of sources concerning the abolition of slavery in the Netherlands West Indies, p. 91—102) and *De Openbare Mening in Nederland over de afschaffing der slavernij*

(The general feeling of the Netherlands people concerning the abolition of slavery in Suriname and Curaçao, p. 61—90). I shall refrain from going further into the most recent history of Surinam, but to conclude I would nevertheless mention the very important work on this country by *R. A. J. van Lier, Samenleving in een Grensgebied, een sociaal-historische studie van de maatschappij in Suriname* (Society in a marginal territory, a socio-historical study of the community in Surinam, 1949, 425 pp.).

## I. THE NEW NETHERLANDS

For a general work on the history of the Dutch in the New Netherlands, i.e. the area on the Hudson River, the reader must still be referred to *E. B. O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland or New York under the Dutch*, which is in two volumes dating resp. from 1846 and 1848 (Eng., 493 + 608 pp.). An interesting book is *Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer's History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (Eng., 1909, two vols). A number of Dutch documents can be found translated into English in *J. Franklin Jameson's Narratives of New Netherland, 1609—1664* (Eng. 1909). The part of *W. J. van Balen's* essay *Twee Dochterlanden in de Nieuwe Wereld* (Two daughter countries in the New World, Collection: *Nederland in de vijf Werelddeelen*, 1947), which deals with this area (p. 209—246) is a readable summary intended for the general reader. *C. P. Burger's* article *De Ontdekkingsreis van Hudson in 1609* (Hudson's voyage of discovery in 1609, *T.v.G.* 38, 1923, p. 110—116) is a summary of the edition published by the Linschoten Society on this subject, which was mentioned on p. 17. A commemorative address given by *W. Ph. Coolhaas* on the occasion of the festive year 1959 has been printed in the Bulletin of the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation (NUFFIC) of June 1959 (Eng. p. 9—17). *S. Hart* found some important notarial records on Hudson and the contacts with the Hudson river, enabling him to write his *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company* (Eng., 1959, 105 pp.).

*A. Eekhof* was the expert on the church history of the New Netherlands. He wrote a detailed work entitled *De Hervormde Kerk*

in *Noord-Amerika, 1624—1664* (The Reformed Church in North America, 1624—1664, 1913, two vols, 267 + 204 + LVII pp.). He is also the author of the biography *Bastiaen Jansz. Krol, Kranken-bezoeker, Kommies en Kommandeur van Nieuw-Nederland, 1595—1645* (Bastiaen Jansz. Krol, visitor of the sick, employee and Governor of the New Netherlands, 1595—1645, 1910, 60 + XXXVIII pp.) and of *Jonas Michaëlius, founder of the Church in New Netherland* (Eng. 1926, 148 pp.).

The attempt by a distinguished "patroon", the owner of a very large estate near present-day Albany, to form a colony there, attracted much attention. The set-up of his enterprise is dealt with by *J. Spinoza Catella Jessurun* in *Kiliaen van Rensselaer van 1623 tot 1636* (Kiliaen van Rensselaer from 1623 to 1636, 1917, 213 + XXVI pp.). Miss *L. van Nierop* wrote the history of this estate in her detailed article *Rensselaerswyck, 1629—1704* (T.v.G. 60, 1947, p. 1—39, 187—219; 61, 1948, p. 70—123, 305—347). *A. J. F. van Laer* published, in English, the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630—1643* (1908). Of far less significance are the other studies on similar enterprises, those by *M. C. Sigal*, *Een bijdrage tot de kennis omtrent de vestiging van Hollandse emigranten te Boswijck* (A contribution to our knowledge concerning the establishment of Dutch emigrants at Boswyck, *De Navorscher* 93, 1952, p. 149—154) and by *S. Hart*, *De stadskolonie Nieuwer-Amstel aan de Delaware river in Noord-Amerika* (The town colony of Nieuwer Amstel on the river Delaware in North America, periodical *Amstelodamum* 38, 1951, p. 89—94). In 1664 the New Netherlands fell into English hands and remained English, with the exception of the short period (1673—1674), when it was reconquered by the Netherlands, but restored when peace was concluded.

## J. THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED STATES

But I must still bring to the reader's attention some books relating to the later contacts between the Dutch and North America. The relations between the Netherlands and the provinces which had risen in revolt against England are dealt with by *F. W. van Wijk* in his *De Republiek*

*en Amerika, 1776—1782* (The Republic and America, 1776 to 1782, 1921, 211 pp.). Much more important are the two volumes by *P. J. van Winter* entitled *Het Aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest* (The part played by Amsterdam trade in the formation of the American commonwealth, two volumes, 1927, 240 pp., 1933, 500 pp.). The author, whose work will shortly appear in a revised English translation, makes it clear how important that contribution was financially. Another study by *J. de Hullu* can be mentioned here: *Over de Opkomst van den Indischen handel der Ver. Staten . . . als mededinger der V.O.C. omstreeks 1786—1790* (On the rise of the Indies trade of the United States as a rival of the V.O.C. from about 1786 to 1790, B.K.I. 75, 1919, p. 281—301). To a certain extent *J. C. Westermann's The Netherlands and the United States, their relations in the beginning of the nineteenth century* (Eng., 1935, 415 pp.) can be called a sequel to Van Winter's book.

Later still there followed the emigration of Dutchmen to America. These were mainly strict Calvinists who, about 1846, no longer felt at home in the Netherlands and began a new, freer life on the other side of the ocean, particularly in the states of Michigan and Iowa. There are detailed studies on this colonisation. The Dutchman *J. van Hinte*, tackled the subjects in his important work in two volumes *Nederlanders in Amerika, een studie over Landverhuizers en Volkplanters in de 19e en 20st Eeuw in de Vereenigde Staten van America* (Dutchmen in America, a study on emigrants and colonists in the 19th and 20th centuries in the U.S.A., 1928, 499 + 626 pp.). It was then dealt with for the American reader by the American of Dutch extraction *H. S. Lucas* in his book *Nederlanders in America* (Eng., 1955, 744 pp.). The same author also published numerous writings by these colonists, with an English translation of those written in Dutch, in his work in two volumes *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* (Eng., 1955, 514 + 480 pp.).

There is a biography on one of the leaders of these people by *A. Hyma*, *Albertus C. Van Raalte and his Dutch Settlements in the United States* (Eng. 1947, 280 pp.).

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I have excluded from this bibliography both the publications on temporary Dutch settlements in the far north, for purposes of whaling, and the permanent establishments in Russia (mainly Archangel) and Turkey (mainly Smyrna).

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LIST OF THE ABBREVIATED TITLES OF THE MOST  
IMPORTANT PERIODICALS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

- B.G.N.      Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden (Contributions to the History of the Netherlands).
- B.K.I.      Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Contributions to Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology).
- B.M.H.G.   Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (Contributions and Communications of the Historical Society).
- B.V.G.      Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde (Contributions to National History and Archaeology).
- E.H.J.      Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek (Economic History Yearbook).
- I.G.        De Indische Gids (Indies Guide).
- Ind.        Indonesië (Indonesia).
- K.S.        Koloniale Studiën (Colonial Studies).
- K.T.        Koloniaal Tijdschrift (Colonial Review).
- R.G.P.      Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien (State Historical Publications).
- T.A.G.      Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Review of the Royal Geographical Society).
- T.B.G.      Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Review for East Indies Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
- T.v.G.      Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis (Historical Review).
- V.B.G.      Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Proceedings of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
- V.K.I.      Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Proceedings of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology).
- W.I.G.      De West-Indische Gids (West Indies Guide).
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